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# Latin America Report

No. 2155



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## LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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## CONTENTS

## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Bahamians Demonstrate Against Cuba at Airport (THE TRIBUNE, 15 May 80) .....	1
Brazilian Foreign Minister Rejects Defensive Pacts in Latin America (Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro Interview; CLARIN, 4 May 80) .....	3
Briefs	
Jamaica Regrets to Bahamas	10

## ARGENTINA

Church Hierarchy Focuses on Political Dialog (Various sources, various dates) .....	11
Composition of Episcopal Conference, by Jorge Fasce Full Text of Bishops' Document Mgr Zazpe's Comments, Editorial National, International Concerns, by Carlos Fernandez	

## BARBADOS

Briefs	
Loan From OPEC Funds	25

## BRAZIL

Party Leaders View Economic, Social, Political Problems (Jarbas Passarinho, et al. Interview; O GLOBO, 27 Apr 80) .....	26
---	----

PCB Counters Prestes Criticism, Admits Party Crisis (Various sources, 27 Mar, 10 Apr 80).....	36
Statement by CC Member Prestes Against PCB Registration	
CFP States Superharvest Will Ensure Price Stability (O GLOBO, 27 Apr 80) .....	42
Trade Deficit Figures, Development of Inflation Reported (Various sources, various dates) .....	44
Trade Deficit Soars Export Figure Discussed 1980 Goals Safe Fifty-Five Percent Inflation Predicted	
Labor Ministry Releases Regional Employment Figures (Various sources, various dates) .....	49
Sao Paulo 1979 Employment Regional Figures for February January Civil Construction Employment	
Rumors of Possible Dismissal of Planning Minister on Rise (Helival Rios; FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, 15 Apr 80) ....	53
Planning Minister Analyzes National Situation (O GLOBO, 29 Apr 80) .....	56
Prospects for Trade With Japan Considered (Various sources, 27 Apr 80) ... ..	65
Japanese Business Delegation, by Jorge Rosa Expanded Investments Contemplated, by Anilde Werneck	
Bahia To Produce Over 3 Tons of Gold Annually by 1982 (O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 23 Apr 80) .....	71
Seven Rockets To Put Telecommunications Satellite in Orbit (O GLOBO, 26 Mar 80) .....	72



Press Reportage on Recent Oil-Related Activities (Various sources, various dates) .....	74
Increase in Oil Production	
Bids From 35 Companies	
Diesel Oil Consumption Up	
Foreign Exchange Outflow	
Repercussions of Price Rise	
Discovery Well in Ceara	
Petroleum Products Consumption Up	
Fuel Alcohol Production Program Progress Analyzed (Various sources, various dates) .....	81
Foreign Capital Invested	
Substitute for Diesel Fuel	
IBRD Financing	
Sales to Japan	
Ethyl Alcohol Goals	
Investment in Mato Grosso	
Effect on Gasoline Consumption	

#### COLOMBIA

Paper Publishes Amnesty International Charges (LA REPUBLICA, 27 Apr 80) .....	89
Turbay, Others Denounce Amnesty International Report (EL TIEMPO, various dates) .....	120
Attorney General's Preliminary Statement	
Justice Minister Says 'Abusive', Hugo Escobar Sierra Interview	
Turbay Officially Refutes Report	
Politicians, Businessmen Speak Out	

#### CUBA

USSR Assistance, Cooperation Reviewed (N. Kukharev; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 18, 1980) .....	146
'BOHEMIA' Reports on USSR Advisers, Aid (Manuel Gonzalez Bello; BOHEMIA, 2 May 80) .....	150
Caracas Editor Reports on Refugees in Peruvian Embassy (Mariadela Linares; BOHEMIA, 21-27 Apr 80) .....	155

## ECUADOR

SENDIP Reports on National Development Programs (EL COMERCIO, 22 Apr 80) .....	160
---	-----

## EL SALVADOR

Reasons for Not Accepting Cuban Refugees Explained (EL MUNDO, 18 Apr 80) .....	165
Country's Trade With Costa Rica Discussed (Editorial; LA PRENSA GRAFICA, 24 Apr 80).....	167
Reasons for Continuing Trade Value of Trade Reported	
Foreign Minister: Country To Be Nonaligned (LA PRENSA GRAFICA, 23 Apr 80) .....	169

## HONDURAS

Peaceful Participation in 20 April Elections Urged (LA PRENSA, 11 Apr 80) .....	170
Paz Garcia's Election Eve Speech on Role of Military (Policarpo Paz Garcia; LA PRENSA, 17 Apr 80) ....	173
Suazo Cordova Interviewed on PLH Victory (Roberto Suazo Cordova Interview; LA PRENSA, 22 Apr 80) .....	176
Modeni Leader Comments on PNH Election Defeat (LA PRENSA, 22 Apr 80) .....	179

## JAMAICA

Cartridge Shipment Detained, Linked to Cubans (DAILY GLEANER, various sources) .....	181
Shipment Detained JLP Expresses 'Grave Concern' Only Shotgun Cartridges Found Security Minister's Explanation Opposition Leader Seaga's Statement 'GLEANER': Thompson Behavior 'Improper', Editorial	

## MEXICO

Implications, Aims of PGD Predicted, Discussed (Jesus Rangel, et al; EXCELSIOR, 16 Apr 80).....	188
De la Madrid Hurtado Speaks President Signs Decree	
IMCE Touts Trade With Socialist Bloc (Nora Hilda Gomez S.; EL SOL DE MEXICO, 16 Apr 80) .....	192
Government To Supply Oil to India (EXCELSIOR, 16 Apr 80) .....	193

## NICARAGUA

Literacy Campaign Topics Reported (BARRICADA, 6, 11 Mar 80) .....	195
Masses in Revolution Foreign Debt Proposals	
Envoy to Costa Rica Responds to 'LA REPUBLICA' (LA REPUBLICA, 4 May 80) .....	198
Envoy to Costa Rica Responds to 'LA NACION' (LA NACION, 1 May 80) .....	201

## VENEZUELA

Caldera Discusses Effects of 'Sierra Nevada' Scandal (Rafael Caldera Interview; RESUMEN, 18 May 80)...	204
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BAHAMIANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST CUBA AT AIRPORT

FL191510 Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 15 May 80 p 1

[Text] Over 400 angry Bahamians turned out at the airport this afternoon to vent their feelings against the seven-man Cuban delegation which returned to Nassau shortly after 2 pm to resume talks over the sinking of the patrol boat Flamingo and the loss of four of her crew.

Placard carrying demonstrators chanting "Death to the Cubans" hurled themselves onto two limousines carrying the Cuban officials from the airport and shouted verbal abuse at them as the cars ran the gauntlet of the angry crowd.

"Murdering Cubans," "Remember our four," "Communist murderers," read some of the placards, and the Cubans in their cars held their heads low.

Some Bahamians, including Mr Andrew 'Dud' Maynard, chairman of the ruling Progressive Liberal Party, threw themselves onto the cars as they passed.

Police under the command of Assistant Commissioner Paul Thompson and Superintendent Addington Darville could not keep the crowd back.

Also participating in the demonstration were Rev Simeon Hall, two Catholic clergymen and the headmaster of the Catholic high school Aquinas, Vince Ferguson.

High ranking PLP supporters were also participating.

The Cubans cancelled Tuesday's talks and asked for more time to prepare for today's meeting. They met here on Monday for three hours before returning to Cuba.

Mr Andrew 'Dud' Maynard, organiser of the demonstration, said although he was chairman of the ruling Progressive Liberal Party, the demonstration was not intended to be a party effort but a national one. "I want every full-blooded Bahamian to come out and show these Cubans how we feel. It should be a show of national unity against them," he said.



Leaders from two political groups said they would join forces with Mr Maynard. And other groups, including union members, were also at the airport demonstrating.

Both Mr George Wilson of the Bahamian American Federation and Mr Rodney Moncur of the Workers Party and a member of the Black Village Youth Association, said they would lead their groups in the protest.

Mr Maynard said he also wanted to demonstrate outside the External Affairs Ministry while the talks were going on, but at noontime he was still waiting for permission from the police commissioner.

"Whenever the country is threatened it is time for unity. Remember the situation with the Jews and the Nazis? Our Bahamas security is at stake and all Bahamians are deeply concerned," said Mr Maynard.

He also wanted certain questions put to the Vanguard Party. "They have been very quiet during this whole episode. And it is their party which wants to model the Bahamas after Cuba as the perfect socialist state," he said on Radio ZNS.

"We want the Cubans to know that we as Bahamians are not going to take what they did laying down. We are angry and they will hear about what we say in the world press," he added.

Mr Wilson of the BAF said that his group was very concerned over Cuba's actions and would make up their own placards in protest.

Mr Moncur said he was prepared to take up arms for his country when its security was threatened. "Me and my boys are going to be there and those Cubans had better beware."

"It is a very serious matter and a concern of ours when Cubans kill our people, violate international law and sink our ship," Mr Wilson said.

Prime Minister Pindling has demanded an official apology from the Cuban Government, payment for the Flamingo and compensation for the families of the dead marines.

Mr Moncur said: "One of those buys was a distant cousin of mine I went to primary school with Tucker. I have to let my feelings hang out because I am deeply grieved."

Police security was to be especially tight at the airport and around the ministry building today where the talks were to be held. When talks opened Monday at the External Affairs Ministry the police wouldn't allow anyone on the third floor where the meetings were being held.

The Cuban delegation is being led by Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Dr Pelegrin Torras, UN and Bahamas Ambassador Raul Roa Kouri, Rafael Hernandez Martinez, Lazaro de la Pena del Portal, Raul Castro Valera, Pedro Blas Perera Ruiz and Guillermo Melis Simeon.

**BRAZILIAN FOREIGN MINISTER REJECTS DEFENSIVE PACTS IN LATIN AMERICA**

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 4 May 80 pp 6, 58

[Interview with Ambassador Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro, foreign minister of Brazil ; date and place not given]

[Text] In an exclusive report by CLARIN, Ambassador Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro, foreign minister of Brazil, said that his country will not put together any defensive pacts in Latin America. He indicated that the visit to be made to Argentina by President Joao Baptista Figueiredo will make it possible fully to bring out the possibilities of cooperation with Argentina. Regarding agreements in the economic area, he noted that such agreements must be fair and balanced and, besides, they must be in the national interests of both countries.

Brazilian Foreign Minister Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro said that his country is against the idea of constituting regional or subregional "alliances" of Latin American countries and he pointed out that this type of "defensive" bloc is not justified at this time.

In an exclusive interview granted CLARIN, the chief Brazilian diplomat spelled out the political and economic achievements deriving from the visit to be made to the country by Brazilian President Joao Baptista Figueiredo, starting on 14 May.

He noted that the economic agreements, which will be signed, will always be in "the interest of each country and will be aimed at a balance in each specific operation."

"The important thing," he emphasized, "is to note that trade must be balanced and that we must seek ways of providing extensive incentives both for industry and for agriculture in Brazil and Argentina."

Here is the complete text of the interview with Saraiva Guerreiro.

[Question] What is the significance of the trip to Argentina by President Figueiredo within your country's foreign policy?

[Answer] Relations between Brazil and Argentina are close, varied, and frank, so that the trip by President Figueiredo is a perfectly "natural" diplomatic move. But, to answer your specific question, I believe that the trip can be analyzed from various viewpoints. To begin with, I would like to recall that President Figueiredo's foreign policy reveals an operational dimension which assigns priority to the in-depth development of relations with Latin American neighbors. The universal approach as such and good neighborliness, at a particularly difficult moment in the international situation, required open, active diplomatic endeavor, in the permanent search of those formulations which may be fair and balanced in dealing with our friends and which may promote mutual confidence and reinforcement. The visit also has a Latin American dimension. It is part of an extremely important movement, a kind of continental "introspection," where we Latin Americans seek freely and autonomously to strengthen the ways of integration and unity. In identifying this movement, we clearly note the tendency to discover our own individual ways, the ways of each nation, both in the context of its domestic policy and its international policy. It is within the awareness of and respect for this rich diversity and complementarity and in the perception of common interests and feelings that we can advance the regional synthesis toward which public opinion in our countries seems to be disposed.

On the bilateral level, the visit reveals the highest political expressiveness. It strengthens friendship between the two countries and opens up important prospects for the in-depth development of bilateral relations. President Figueiredo is not going to Argentina to solve any bilateral problems, to inaugurate a project, or to promote one deal or another. Specific and important initiatives certainly will be taken in one area or another. But they do not go beyond the field of cooperation; the fundamental thing is that there must always be a political climate of confidence and continuity so that many others may derive benefit from the interests of the two countries. The visit by President Figueiredo is very much a part of this projection toward the future.

Finally, I believe that the history of relations between Argentina and Brazil was always characterized by the intensity of this relationship. And, of course, it was also characterized by the intensity which it generated, here and there, in relation to one or another problem. Now, what some analysts fail to detect is that these specific issues, taken by themselves, did not spring from structural contradictions, nor from power disputes which the real interest and the maturity of the peoples had rendered obsolete. We, the people of Argentina and Brazil therefore must, with tranquility and with confidence in the future, contemplate the significance of the coming trip by President Figueiredo to Buenos Aires.

[Question] On what topics will bilateral agreements be signed?

[Answer] The issues of which a bilateral agreement will be possible are still being examined and it would be discourteous to provide information and make predictions while negotiations are being concluded. I would also like to point out that the trip by President Figueiredo does not have the precise objective of formalizing bilateral accords. Naturally, the visit stepped up the pace of negotiations and stimulated our work. It moved forward that which was maturing. The relevant thing, for example, is the impetus to be given to the continuing identification of opportunities for cooperation for the future and to utilize those opportunities efficiently. The presidential visit expresses this readiness. Another important question concerns the approach between countries such as Argentina and Brazil, an approach which must not be brought about exclusively on the basis of agreements. There are daily changes, such as the flow of tourists, cultural contacts, trade, which are the foundation of a dynamic and mutually profitable relationship for both countries. President Videla, in a recent press interview, rather happily referred to the significance of the visit in stressing its primarily political significance and the common desire to maintain friendly and cooperative relations.

[Question] The nuclear agreement, which will be taken up during the visit by President Figueiredo to this country, provides for alternatives of bilateral supplementation in this field, according to press reports. What fields will this cooperation cover and what is the importance to be assigned to this accord?

[Answer] Precisely because the negotiating process has not yet been completed, I do not believe it to be convenient to discuss forms and methods pertaining to one text or both texts. What must be made clear is that the kind of cooperation which Brazil and Argentina want is open and frank cooperation strictly oriented toward the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The two countries have valuable experience in this sector and this is what stimulates cooperation. This is not a matter of cooperating "against" somebody but of cooperating with a view to our own peoples. There are valid opportunities for exchange and supplementation which can be utilized to the benefit of both countries and without harm to anybody concerning the objectives of each of us regarding full development and autonomy in this field. Besides, both Brazil and Argentina have stated quite clearly the right that enables them to gain access to technologies which are essential to full development. In addition to the advantages which an understanding in this field would yield for the efforts of both countries, I believe that cooperation of this kind would demonstrate most clearly that Brazil and Argentina are not motivated by improper competition, because that is unnecessary, or by other objectives which are not dictated by the legitimate needs of their development. It is therefore quite normal to expect that



we may arrive at an agreement and that this agreement therefore would imply concrete action without inhibition with a view to the real situation in this sector in both countries.

[Question] In the economic field, according to reliable indications, various agreements will undoubtedly be worked out. Could you spell them out for us in detail?

[Answer] I would like to repeat here what I said before as to the right moment for disclosing the agreements that will be signed. They can be very expressive and relevant for the future. I would nevertheless like to talk about the visit of Brazilian business men to Argentina, simultaneously with President Figueiredo, and about the exhibit of Brazilian products (as well as certain cultural aspects) in honor of the Fourth Centenary of the City of Buenos Aires. In their private enterprise system, Brazil and Argentina have one of the main points in economic construction. The trip likewise will permit renewed contact in various areas. The essential thing here is, I think, to orient specific "business deals," regardless of whether they are commercial or industrial, binational or regional undertakings, along the lines of the strict rule of equilibrium. Mutual benefit, the formulas which will be effective in promoting the development of our peoples--these are the milestones that must promote economic cooperation on all of its levels.

[Question] Do you believe that the difference in economic growth between the two countries will facilitate or hinder possibilities for an agreement?

[Answer] It is not easy to make comparisons between the economies of Brazil and Argentina. This is why it is difficult to answer your question, especially since it was formulated on such a high level of abstraction. I believe that the economies of Brazil and Argentina--if we are thinking in terms of cooperation--must be measured by the variety they reveal in their industrial establishments and in terms of the advances which they have achieved in science and technology. Neither Brazil, nor Argentina have a monopoly in terms of overall economic advantage which, nevertheless, may be more or less pronounced in one area or another. Cooperation must start with this diagnosis which concretely takes into account the differences and similarities, without any subjective approach, and from this point on, always in accord with the national interest, it must establish the specific mechanisms for trade, exchange of experiences, and common undertakings which will strengthen both economies. The economic approach must not conceal any intentions or tendencies which are unfavorable to either of the two partners. It is precisely the cordial relations that exist between the two countries and that will be strengthened even more by the presidential visit which assure me that these negative effects will not manifest themselves (or will be corrected if they should show up on the horizon of bilateral economic relations).

[Question] Do you believe that the economic opening being promoted by the Argentine government favors the conclusion of economic agreements?

[Answer] I think that there are two conceptually distinct phases here. The first is tied to decisions of a domestic nature, which may have implications on Argentina's international economic relations. The second one has to do with the bilateral implementation of tendencies facilitated by a certain economic posture. I need not comment on the first part because I could not judge decisions which exclusively pertain to the Argentine economic process and its options. As for the second one, I indicated earlier that opportunities for cooperation do exist and must be exploited although the interest of each country and the aspect of balance in each specific operation must always be complied with. We must avoid oversimplified predictions on the future of the economy which is already highly diversified and which will become increasingly complex. I do not want to make any comparisons, nor do I want to examine the advances of either country, sector by sector. The important thing is to note that exchange must be balanced and must seek forms which will provide broad incentives for industry and agriculture in Brazil and Argentina. We are going to get rid of any formulas and preconceived notions which do not constitute the best framework for cooperation, a cooperation which can be so rich for Brazil and for Argentina.

[Question] Could one say that, after the visit by Figueiredo to Argentina, the foundations will be laid for a binational enterprise for the construction of Garabi, along the Upper Uruguay?

[Answer] The utilization of the border section along the Uruguay River has already been the subject of rather advanced studies by ELETROBRAS [Brazilian Electric Power Companies, Inc] and Water and Electric Energy [of Argentina]. The executive committee, made up of representatives of both companies, has been working in a highly satisfactory manner and is completing the feasibility studies for Garabi while supplementary studies are in progress on Roncador and San Pedro. I believe that Brazil and Argentina would first of all have to spell out the general standards to govern this joint undertaking on the Uruguay River. This legal framework can be spelled out. The blueprints and the execution of the corresponding projects are governed by the priorities which the two governments will assign to them in their energy plans and in subsequent understandings.

[Question] The information media keep mentioning the prospects of an agreement among the countries of the Southern Horn, specifically, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Is Brazil prepared to join an alliance of this kind?

[Answer] Brazil participates in regional and subregional meetings and organizations when they have constructive objectives. Basically, we have no reasons to oppose a scheme of cooperation with friendly countries. But

there are two points we would like to make: first of all, we do not endorse the idea of subregional "alliances." Alliances as a rule are defensive and, in the current situation in Latin America, we do not see any sense whatsoever in inventing a bloc policy with divisive political pretensions. The mechanisms which we seek are aimed at mutual cooperation and we do not believe in the creation of mechanisms "against" one side or another, open or concealed.

[Question] In spite of the official denial of an invitation extended to President Figueiredo to visit the Soviet Union, what is the current status of relations between Brasilia and Moscow?

[Answer] First of all, let me make one thing perfectly clear: President Figueiredo was indeed invited to go to the USSR and accepted the invitation; the date has not yet been set through normal diplomatic channels. Relations with the USSR are normal. They revolve above all around commercial exchange which has been producing varied results in recent years. A mixed commission is now operating and the intention is to step up and exploit opportunities which may be beneficial to both countries.

[Question] How does your government view the evolution of the situation in El Salvador and in Latin America?

[Answer] This topic is extremely complex and there is no short answer to it which would cover all of the special features and aspects; I therefore would prefer to single out only some very general outlines regarding what the Brazilian government thinks about the Central American situation. First of all, it is fundamental to realize that the crisis experienced in that region (or in some countries) has to do with the system involved. It is intimately tied to the economic process and the political structures. Besides, we cannot make any generalizations, especially when we discuss ways of resolving and overcoming the crises. Domestic political settlements are rather peculiar and lead to different ways in search of solutions. It is therefore fundamental to preserve the idea of nonintervention. Imposing solutions is the surest way to achieve false short-term settlements and that only prepares the way for a more violent crisis in medium-range and long-range terms.

We do not directly participate in the Central American political game but it is obvious that it is a matter of concern to us, to the extent that these sister nations are in a difficult economic and political situation. We have no magic formulas for solving their problems and the dimensions of our aid are small, certainly smaller than what we would like it to be.

[Question] Is Brazil seeking energy alternatives in other countries, in addition to those of the Arab World?

[Answer] The energy crisis today is one of the fundamental issues in determining the dimensions of the Brazilian development process. We are trying to use our greater imagination and creativity in the search of solutions that would mitigate its effects. And we are attempting the first and most important solution through our own resources, by setting up our own national alcohol program and by stepping up prospecting for petroleum, where, right now, we are even calling on Argentine firms of proven competence, plus the better use of coal, etc.

In terms of petroleum supplies--which constitute the specific topic of your question--we always seek to diversify our sources and today we are getting (or we are in the process of getting) petroleum from Mexico, Venezuela, N geria, Angola, and other countries. Right now, the quantities are still of relative significance. There are two reasons for that: the tradition of getting supplies and, on the other hand, the specific fact that most of the world's output is concentrated in the Middle East.

In summary, there is an intention to achieve diversification which however is limited both for commercial reasons and for natural reasons.

5058

CSO: 3010



## INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

JAMAICA REGRETS TO BAHAMAS--The Jamaican Government has expressed concern at the attack on the Bahamian boat by the Cuban airplanes. A statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said the cabinet had instructed that its regrets at the incident be conveyed to the Government of the Bahamas as well as sympathy for the deceased's families. The Jamaican cabinet noted that Cuba had already expressed its own regrets at the incident and it [Jamaica] was now gathering further information on all the surrounding circumstances. To this end, the Jamaican Government said it would be communicating with the Governments of the Bahamas and Cuba. [Text] [FL131437 Kingston Domestic Service in English 1130 GMT 13 May 80]

CSO: 3020

## CHURCH HIERARCHY FOCUSES ON POLITICAL DIALOG

### Composition of Episcopal Conference

Buenos Aires CONVICCION in Spanish 30 Apr 80 p 10

[Article by Jorge Pasce: "The Episcopal Conference Represents the Ecclesiastical Organization of the Country"]

[Text] At the present time, the Catholic bishops of the country who are affiliated with the CEA (Argentine Episcopal Conference) are meeting in a general assembly.

In this country, the number of priests who have received the full Sacrament of Holy Orders in the degree of the episcopacy is 88; but only 81 are members of the CEA. If the diocese of Concepcion (Tucuman) were provided for, there would be 82; but since the Pope has not yet named a successor to Bishop Ferro, who died recently, the membership of the assembly numbers 81.

### Residential Bishops

In the first place, it is comprised of the residential bishops, one of the categories that make up the Episcopal College. They are the "ecclesiastical rulers," those bishops who head one of the territorial jurisdictions into which the Catholic Church is organized throughout the world: the dioceses or bishoprics. Also included in this category of "rulers," although they are not exactly what canon law considers a "residential bishop," are the bishops who head small separate territories (for functional convenience) of one or more dioceses with which they were previously affiliated; and, for that reason, they are known as prelaties "nullius dioceseos" (with "no diocese"). There are in Argentina three ecclesiastical jurisdictions of this type: Cafayate, Humahuaca and Dean Punes (the latter created very recently). Finally, also resembling the category of "residential bishop," although they do not head any territory or diocese per se, are the ordinary, for Catholics of the Eastern Rite who have no ordinary of their own, the eparch, for Eastern Catholics of the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite, and the military vicar. These genuine ecclesiastical jurisdictions are such, even

though they do not hold a territory in which they are established; they are personal jurisdictions. The Church has created them out of respect for the unique customs of the Eastern Rite members in the first two instances, and to better meet the needs of the faithful with military status in the other. The Ordinariate for those of the Eastern Rite is in the hands of Cardinal Aramburu who, owing to his status as residential bishop (of Buenos Aires), is a member of the CEA. On the other hand, the eparch (the equivalent of a bishop of the Western, or Latin Rite) of the Ukrainians, Sapelak, a Salesian, is a member of the Conference in that capacity. In the opinion of the Holy See, the number of faithful of that rite living in Argentina warranted the creation of an eparchy, through the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches. The Ukrainians are the only Catholic faithful of the Eastern Rite who have their own ordinary. All the others in the country (Melkites, Maronites and Armenians), since they lack their own jurisdiction, are included in the Ordinariate for which Cardinal Aramburu is responsible. As for the Military Vicariate, it is administered by a bishop (Tortolo) who, since he is a residential bishop (of Parana), already belongs to the CEA.

### Titular Bishops

The second category comprising the Episcopal College of the Catholic Church is that of the "titular bishops," or those with a mere title. They are full-fledged priests; in other words, they can administer the Sacrament of Holy Orders to the faithful seeking it, conferring the priesthood upon them; but, unlike the residential bishops, they do not head a diocese. They are usually auxiliaries in the former bishops' episcopal mission, and the latter usually appoint them (when they have been assigned to them by the Pope) to the position of vicar general, in other words, their second in command of the pastoral government.

On other occasions, the titular bishops hold positions which, because of their importance, make it feasible for them to be filled by priests endowed with episcopal dignity (for example, the Catholic University).

The only ones in this second category of bishops who are members of the Episcopal Conference are those who are auxiliaries in a diocese, or who usually perform some function assigned by the Holy See, or the CEA itself.

Also participating in the CEA assembly are the bishops who have resigned from their See because they have reached the age of 75, in accordance with the provisions of Vatican Council II, later given regulations by Pope Paul VI. There are in Argentina two bishops with that status: Vicentin, former archbishop of Corrientes; and Raspanti, a Salesian, who was bishop of Moron until a few weeks ago.

### The Replacements

At the current CEA assembly, three dioceses are not represented by their bishops: Concepcion, in Tucuman, because of the death of Juan Carlos Ferro,

will be present in the person of its capitular vicar (an ecclesiastical official elected, upon the death or resignation of the bishop, by the Cathedral Chapter, or by the Parish Counselors, if there is no Cathedral Chapter); Villa Maria, in the same way (although the Pope has just named Bishop Disandro, present auxiliary of Cardinal Primatesta in the Archdiocese of Cordoba, to the post, he has not yet assumed it); and Avellaneda, whose bishop, Quarracino, lives in Bogota, where he is serving as secretary general of CELAM (Latin American Bishops Council), will be represented by Ruben di Monte, an ecclesiastical governor.

The agenda is very lengthy: 27 points. Prominent among them is a quite thorough report on the document emanating from the Holy See last year, jointly through the Sacred Congregations for Bishops and for Religious. The topic is of great importance to the devising of the Church's apostolic action, and the bishops' meeting in San Miguel will undoubtedly devote many hours to it.

#### Full Text of Bishops' Document

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 7 May 80 pp 4-5

[Text] In response to the question asked them by the national executive branch, the bishops of Argentina declared: "Political dialog is not to be interpreted as an incidental exercise concerning matters of political doctrine or institutions, nor merely as a profitable colloquium with public officials; but primarily as a search for the common welfare of the political society."

The quotation is included in the document entitled "Gospel, Dialog and Society," which was prepared during the last plenary session of the Argentine Episcopal Conference (held last week), submitted to the president of the nation, Lt Gen (ret) Jorge Rafael Videla, and released publicly yesterday by that associative body.

In analyzing the conditions required for holding "political dialog," the text emphasizes: "The distressing uncertainty about the missing persons and the status of those being held without trial are among the deepseated causes preventing more encounters among Argentines, and are awaiting a solution without delay, which we as bishops not only advise, but request, and which, as a truth, though painful, will always be a force for peace."

It also adds: "Dialog should be an instrument enabling some to become a spokesman for those who often have no voice: children and the aged, families and workers, immigrants and depressed areas, the poor and the sick."

It goes on to say: "A dialog which involves hidden designs among any of its participants would be nothing but a serious disillusionment for everyone. Political language is not exempt from the grave responsibility of being truthful and sincere."



The complete text of "Gospel, Dialog and Society" is as follows:

## I. Dialog

### 1. Invitation to the dialog

In response to the appeal for dialog made by the superior government of the nation, we bishops feel obligated to convey our remarks to the authorities and the entire citizenry. They must be, according to the Gospel and faith, not the opinion of another sector, however respectable, but rather a message of light and hope from those of us who are shepherds to all. We want to serve the cause of communion; that is, the unity and shared responsibility of Argentines at this important time of national judgment.

We are only continuing the teaching of the Argentine episcopate, which has usually expressed its views on highly significant events in our country. Thus, we are holding a fruitful dialog with the world, in accordance with the mandate from Vatican Council II and the instructions of Pope Paul IV, in his brilliant "Enciclica Ecclesiam Suam" (6-8-64).

Christianity must evangelize all of human existence, including the political dimension. "The area of faith cannot be confined to personal or family life, excluding the professional, economic, social and political realm, as if sin, love, prayer and forgiveness were irrelevant there" (Puebla, 515). The Church is present in this area to fulfill its essentially moral and religious mission, teaching the great Gospel truths which enlighten the entire temporal realm, urging that they be followed, and offering its prayer and its sacraments to support its children in that difficult responsibility.

### 2. The dialog

Man is essentially a holder of dialog, because he has been created in the image of God, which is the eternal communion of truth and love, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He carries in the depths of his being the capacity and the obligation, and hence the necessity of holding dialog with God and with other men: with God, in the humility of prayer, and in obedience to his will in the actions of life; and with men in the many forms of everyday exchange, in the family, at work and in society.

Since the destiny of union with woman leads man to matrimony, the universal receptiveness to others gives him the capacity for the political society. In it, he expands the dimensions of his relations on behalf of the common welfare, and for the fulfillment of his human condition.

The dialog among the members of the society, of an ordinary, permanent nature, constitutes the most natural and spontaneous way of promoting the common welfare; and it is, at the same time, a part of it. The society is born of it, grows with it, and is perfected with it. From it should stem the wholesome remedy for its ills. Without it, the society runs the risk of becoming weakened and even of disintegrating.

Hence, dialog is a natural right, preceding any positive right and any practical implementation. It entails for the individual and the community a very serious obligation to undertake it.

Political dialog is not to be interpreted as an incidental exercise concerning matters of political doctrine or institutions, nor merely as a profitable colloquium with public officials; but primarily as a search for the common welfare of the political society.

It is inherent in this dialog, the most noble of all human dialogs, "to determine the fundamental values of the entire community, interior harmony and exterior security, reconciling equality with liberty, public authority with the legitimate autonomy and participation of individuals and groups, and national sovereignty with international coexistence and solidarity" (Puebla, 521).

### 3. The conditions for the dialog

Both for those who propose the dialog and those who accept it, there are conditions on the real fulfillment of which the success that we all desire depends.

Political dialog, like all dialog, is a search for the truth and for good. It does not consist merely of an agreement of wills devoid of essence, but rather seeks agreement on what is true and good for man and the community.

The greater the truth and the good that is sought, the more noble the dialog, and the more profound the link with society. Hence, the dialog presumes love, which is the desire for good. It is a love based on universal brotherhood that wants the common welfare.

Since God began dialog with men at the creation, and reinitiated it miraculously at the redemption, a man of good will must be willing to start it a thousand and one times, regardless of the interruptions or frustrations that error and selfishness, the results of weakness and sin, have caused in the past or could bring about in the future.

It manifests the strong desire for being a nation, and an inexhaustible capacity for brotherhood.

We appeal to all of the Catholic faithful, and we invite the other citizens and social groups, not to refrain from the effort of always taking the initiative to take the first step toward holding dialog and continuing it.

We should be ready to redirect the dialog when it becomes disoriented owing to "the futility of useless conversation" (E.S. 81); and to resume it any time that it is interrupted by "a prior condemnation, or habitual, offensive polemics" (E.S. 81).

The obligation to foster universal political dialog is particularly incumbent on the public authorities, who thereby fulfill a major part of their specific mission.

The complexity of modern social life, rather than excusing from that obligation, makes its fulfillment even more necessary; because a social welfare that has become increasingly difficult cannot be achieved except with greater participation by everyone.

The Council says: "There are many different individuals in a political community, who may, with every right, be inclined toward different solutions. So that the political community will not perish because of the plurality of opinions, it is essential that there be an authority to direct the action of all toward the common welfare, not in a mechanical or despotic way, but by operating chiefly as a moral force based on the liberty and sense of responsibility of each individual" (*Gaudium et Spes* [Joy and Hope]), 74).

Dialog requires genuine respect for others. Its remarks must be received with seriousness and considered with attention commensurate with their quality and significance. In fact, dialog can only begin when someone assumes the humble attitude of listening.

His liberty must be respected also, so that he may be allowed to express his thoughts fully, in accordance with what his responsible conscience demands of him.

There must be a mutual trust, backed by reciprocal sincerity. The ideas and intentions which lie in the depths of the individual are only made known when he expresses them sincerely and in deeds. And his remarks will not be received if there is no confidence or trust in him.

A political society is an accord of intentions and purposes, and it requires this real trust among its members. We Argentines must have trust in one another, and for that purpose we must make ourselves worthy of trust.

A dialog which involves hidden designs among any of its participants would be nothing but a disillusionment for everyone. Political language is not exempt from the grave responsibility of being truthful and sincere.

This should be a time when we Argentines grow in communion, with a real intention for brotherhood. We must strive to eliminate the causes which are damaging the unity of the social body. They are many and diverse, some of them chronic. The widespread immorality, the economic crimes, all of them are harmful, and all of them must be combated. In fact, every sin divides, even the concealed ones.

As the Holy Father told us (28-10-1979), the distressing uncertainty about the missing persons and the status of those being held without trial are among

the deepseated causes preventing more encounters among Argentines, and are awaiting a solution without delay, which we as bishops not only advise, but request, and which, as a truth, though painful, will always be a force for peace.

We must also clearly state that those who devise the tragedy and grief of others for hidden purposes and those who persist in a desire for violence and destruction have created a general distrust and are deeply destroying the fabric of society.

The great dialog which constitutes a political society must be assumed responsibly, and no one can shun it out of apathetic indifference or negligent lack of concern; and no one must be excluded from it except on the basis of law.

God has called everyone to dialog with Him, and everyone to hold dialog with one another. In the same way, the dialog of Argentines must be universal. It is incumbent on everyone to ask questions about the nation and to ask questions of themselves. We must all judge the destiny of the nation, and our place in serving it.

Dialog should be an instrument enabling some to become a spokesman for those who often have no voice: children and the aged, families and workers, immigrants and depressed areas, the poor and the sick.

It should also include , at all times with truth and sincerity, a search for ways of incorporating into it those who may possibly have incorrect positions. A society which would not include in its laws and in its coexistence Christ's spirit of reconciliation could hardly call itself Christian.

It certainly goes without saying that there must be included in the dialog those endowed with many assets and intellectual gifts who can and should render to the community the service of their upright activity.

The dialog must be patient and persevering, because change, conversion and reconciliation among men is difficult. Holding a human encounter on any level demands the price of grievous efforts.

#### 4. Dialog for peace

With Paul VI we say: "Our goal to cultivate and perfect our dialog can aid the cause of peace among men...The opening of an unselfish, objective and fair dialog entails the decision for a free and honorable peace, and it cannot fail to extend to the (relations) which exist in the body of nations, and in the foundations, both social as well as family and individual, to spread among all institutions and all spirits the meaning, the joy and the obligation of peace" (Ecclesiam suam, 110). True peace is the height of human assets.



## II. Content of the Dialog, the Argentina That We Desire

### 1. National history and culture

The political dialog must assume and clearly comprehend the identity of the nation, established arduously by the lives of the present and past generations, whose roots lie in the remote origins of America.

Since then, the Gospel has accompanied our people in their conscience and their conduct, in the midst of the vicissitudes and the contrasts germane to all human history.

There have been in that history more or less serious attempts to change values which could have transformed its identity as a nation. However, it must be admitted again that the people's culture continued to retain the values received from the Gospel in its innermost and most decisive center. There is much evidence of this, including in particular the Act of Independence and the National Constitution, which terms God "the source of all right and justice."

To defend this spiritual heritage, our founding fathers gave up their goods, their honor and their blood; and, later, many others managed to follow faithfully in their footsteps.

Today, we must continue without interruption to construct that nation of ours which, acknowledging its roots so replete with the Gospel, has taken strength to create its future.

The manner of thinking and judging, and of feeling and acting, of the majority of the people contains human values which are the result of the Gospel. Their concept of the individual, his dignity and his rights, his equality and his openness to the world, in short, his all-important destiny.

Precisely because of their Catholic spirit, our people have known how and still do know how to accept men of good will who have a different concept of the world, and they have been able to coexist with them in sincere brotherhood.

### 2. Society and politics

In this critical situation in which we find ourselves, we must admit structural shortcomings, but mainly a moral disorder which exists in the other sectors of life but which includes that of politics as well.

Despite the serious flaws that public activity has often had in Argentina, we recognize the lofty status associated with politics as such, which has also brought about great achievements in our country, that have made us proud and hopeful.

To illuminate the area in which the political dialog will be held, the Church has an abundant supply of teachings, its social doctrine which it has devised with wisdom through the centuries.

We call upon men of good will, and Catholics in particular, to make use of it, with its capacity for questioning ideologies, and for helping to find the means of laying the foundations and providing secure guidelines for a correct order in the political society.

We are proposing here a few essential guidelines which, if circumstances so dictate, we shall have to explain more fully.

### 3. Political society

We men are gathered into a society because of the requirements of our nature, which has determined its purpose and its essence, and hence the moral standards of its members.

In search of exceeding their own limitations and following the inclination of their social nature, individuals, the family and the intermediate societies are combined in the political society, in order to attain their improvement and their human fulfillment through the common welfare, which includes the conditions that are necessary and feasible for the complete development of the individual (*Gaudium et Spes*, 74).

### 4. The common welfare

Associated with the common welfare are: the defense of the dignity of the individual, his rights and his freedom, especially religious freedom; the right to life, even before birth; the right to health and housing; the right to work; the right to property and its social function; the defense of the family, a household of love and new life; the intermediate societies and the principle of subsidiary status; access to the benefits of education and culture, with equal opportunities for all; the establishment of justice through a juridical order which defends everyone, but especially the weakest and most unprotected, and which seeks the participation of all in material and spiritual assets; protection of the many civic liberties; the establishment of a state which not only defends the rights of individuals, but also intervenes constructively when the common welfare so requires, and which arouses responsibility and guarantees the citizens' participation in public administration, so that they will be a genuine people, and not be willing to live under demagoguery or massification.

The state must oversee the economic and social order, wherein the economy is in the service of the individual; and it must ward off and penalize possible abuses and disorders. Finally, it must be a zealous and steadfast, wise and prudent guardian of the unity and security of the nation.

## 5. Political activity

What we are saying demonstrates the importance of political activity, in which not only the authorities, but all the people as well, are active participants.

The Council says: "Great attention must be paid to civic and political education, which nowadays is especially necessary to the people, and the youth in particular, so that all citizens may perform their mission in the life of the community" (G.S. 75).

To these words of the Council, we add those of John Paul II, on his visit to Mexico: "Everyone wants to be treated as free and responsible people, called upon to participate in the decisions which concern their lives and their future" (speech to the workers in Monterrey).

The responsibility of the citizens, all of whom have an obligation and a right to political activity, must lead to a search for the most fitting means of making it effective. Among these means, mention must be made of the political parties in particular.

The Puebla document (No 524) states: "Party politics is the appropriate area for the laity. It is in keeping with their status as laymen to establish and organize political parties, with an ideology and a strategy that are appropriate for attaining the legitimate goals." Hence, the political parties are legitimate ideological options for the laity, but at all times in the context of politics as a service to the common welfare. Therefore, they must not be subjected to private interests, nor must their ideas and principles be made absolute, when they have only a relative value.

As Argentine bishops, we ask the political parties not to propose programs which would run counter to the truth and the Christian conscience of their members.

Only the individual is capable of dialog. The other creatures in the world do not hold dialog, because they are not in the image of God.

Let the dialog of Argentines manifest that dignity and nobility in all respects.

## Conclusion

The Marian Year is a gift of God to our people. Through the intercession of the Most Blessed Virgin of Lujan, patron and mother of Argentines, may we thankfully offer to our Father in Heaven an Argentina that is renewed with these Christian values of understanding and justice, brotherhood and peace.

San Miguel, 3 May 1980.

### Magr Zaspe's Comments

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 8 May 80 p 10

[Editorial: "The Secret Argentina"]

[Text] A few days ago, in one of the discussions that are usually broadcast by a radio station in the capital and in which there are comments on current topics, the archbishop of Santa Fe, Magr Vicente Zaspe, asked one of the most significant questions that could be posed at present: "Beneath the ideological disputes, the analyses of the current situation, the official rhetoric and the vulgar images of the news media, isn't a new secret Argentina being contrived?" The prelate did not fail to make a distinction between "visible, official Argentina" and "another, cloaked and secret;" nor did he evade a comparison with the situation that was experienced at the beginning of the 1940's, when "the surface of Argentine history continued tacking together its own events, without disclosing the gradual, unceasing gestation of another Argentina, which was to be born about 1945," and which disconcerted many leaders, preventing them from finding a proper perspective from which to view it.

The issue raised by Monsignor Zaspe is one of those which invite the most scrupulous of debates. In an open society, wherein all tendencies express themselves and the leaders are representative, it is difficult for tendencies hostile to understanding, or at least to knowledge, to become formed deeply within them. It can happen, as it did in the United States at a particular time, that a widespread malaise among the youth might occur, expressed in the broad cultural spectrum ranging from fashions to university revolt, hippyism and drugs. But, in any event, it is a challenge made by a sector of the community of the course of action adopted by the latter. The youth rejected the consumer society, because, in its opinion, it falsified the system of values on which North American democracy is founded. It did so with the same force with which it later opposed the military venture in Southeast Asia. But those tendencies finally became reintegrated with the society as a whole, dissolving in it, and they did not make an unsurmountable break.

What happened in Argentina during the 1940's was something different. The official Argentina continued its routine at the top, without noticing the movements that were occurring at the depths of the society. This was extremely disadvantageous, because no transitional policies could be devised, nor channels for dialog be established, which would have precluded another Manichean division of the society such as has commonly occurred in the nation's history. But that inability to perceive what was really happening cannot be blamed merely on conceit, complacency, pleasure in holding power, stupidity or blindness. It was something worse. It was the isolation of a leading nucleus which had completed its cycle, and was not willing to renew either its cadres or its ideas. It was simply insensitivity. In the year 1945, official Argentina did not want to believe its own eyes, as clearcut documents from the time show. And its first attitude was to deny what it was seeing.



Does a secret Argentina exist today as well? Monsignor Zaspe asks the question with complete authority and complete acuity. The answer will result from an evaluation of a large amount of data. We shall have to ask whether the underlying forces of the society feel that they are represented, or whether there is a stratum of leaders preventing the visibility of the reality, instead of facilitating it. If those who are governed feel that their problems are known and considered calmly by the public authorities; or if they believe that detached and, so to speak, abstract plans are being implemented. If what is really happening is reflected by the news media, or if, on the contrary, the latter are giving priority to propaganda.

We could continue asking questions such as these for a long time. But, from the mere effect of thinking, we can say, in unison with the concern of Monsignor Zaspe, that the secret Argentina (if there is one) will grow, so long as there is no shared, agreed upon plan that will resume the path of national achievement toward justice and greatness.

#### National, International Concerns

Buenos Aires CONVICCION in Spanish 4 May 80 p 11

[Article by Carlos Fernandez: "Mediation and Dialog: Two Topics of Pastoral Opinion After the Bishops' Meeting"]

[Text] Yesterday, after a week of deliberations, the Argentine Episcopacy released two documents: One, specifically pastoral in nature, is related to the organization of the Marian Year. The other, prepared jointly with the Chilean Episcopacy, contains an "appeal" to the people and governments of both nations regarding the papal mediation. The Church's leadership entirely postponed until next Tuesday the public dissemination of the document which will explain the institution's opinion of the dialog that is taking place between the military government and the various sectors of the community.

The fact that the Church should express an opinion on the concrete facts pertaining to the current national and/or international political situation is nothing new. The pastoral concern over the reality on which the "faithful people" are founded is one of the distinctive factors emphasized by John Paul II, so that the Church may carry out its evangelizing mission efficiently. And so, an analysis of that reality by the estate which represents the "general conscience" of the Argentine Church, in other words, its highest level of conception (the Episcopacy), must be assessed as a more than valuable contribution to the community in that search (which at times varies from the most tense anxiety to discouragement and apathy) that is being made currently, which will culminate in the discovery of the means that will allow for the stability and full force of that community as a collective and organized entity.

And from that reality surrounding them, the bishops selected two topics to expedite, from a pastoral standpoint, the progress of papal mediation and dialog. In the latter instance, as a response to a request from the Argentine Government.

#### Concern Over the Mediation

No one is unaware of the fact that the mediation, a year after its initiation, is starting on its final period; although no one has yet dared to estimate the length of time that those decisions might take. In this regard, the conclusions are the same on all the echelons which were queried: "The Pope is the only person who has clearly determined the time in which the boundary dispute will be settled." But certain subtle Vatican nuances allow the experts to observe greater dynamization in the negotiations. One of the officials associated with the handling of the procedures for this mediation commented: "The time taken for settlement is now concerning the Vatican, because the Holy See cannot become worn out from this intervention, and the prolonged lack of decisions leads to that wearing out."

In the course of speculation and rumor surrounding the mediation proceedings, however, one can reconstruct some of the preparations that have been made to cope with this period. The two delegations have been sensitized to the maximum degree, and are cautious, although with a different attitude toward flexibility in dealing with situations and smoothing the path. In this respect, the Argentine delegation has been more expansive than its Chilean counterpart.

The atmosphere that exists has been described as "hopeful." The experts agree in stating that, with the resumption of the mediation proceedings, it is quite possible that the Vatican's proposals will begin on points which can easily be resolved, so as later to arrive at the critical issues. Such progress could take place after the hot European August, something which might mean a greater physical presence of the Supreme Pontiff at the "cottage" where the meetings between the delegations are being held.

Hence, this joint appeal from the Argentine and Chilean Episcopacies may be interpreted as a harbinger of a Vatican position which could, within an unforeseeable period of time, culminate in some type of proposal to both delegations. Certain paragraphs from that document therefore assumed special significance:

"Thus we are faced with a supreme effort by the Father of Christianity to contribute by his action to the endeavor for peace between our nations.

"However important and valuable the action of the mediator may be, it must not be forgotten that, in the end, the final responsibility for the success of these negotiations lies with the parties themselves.

"Under the concrete circumstances in our countries, mediation and peace appear as two elements closely associated with one another."

### The Opinion on the Dialog

A letter from President Videla addressed to the head of the Argentine Episcopal Conference, Cardinal Raul Primatesta, requested that this entity express its opinion on the dialog that has been established by the government of the Armed Forces. At the time of the outlining of the program of meetings, when the system of consultations had not yet begun, on certain levels of the government there was a discussion of the possibility of inviting the Church leadership to open the dialog with the supreme authorities of the nation. The general opinion among the Episcopacy, although not unanimous, was that the Church as such could not participate, since it should not be identified as a sector. The government understood that position. This was how the sending of the aforementioned letter appeared as a viable means of obtaining the opinion of the Church.

However, the Church's stand toward the dialog and the economic issue was expressed to Videla at a meeting attended by Primatesta, Zarpe and Lopez, which was held at Olivos before the letter was sent. It was also voiced by the various bishops who periodically share luncheons with the general secretaries of the three branches of the Armed Forces, or in the contacts which the top-ranking military and Church leaders have made at various times.

The Social and Theological Pastoral Teams were charged with preparing the draft, expressing the views on the dialog, which the bishops improved upon last week, until it was put in its final form on Friday night. It was on that occasion that it was also decided to publish the text after proceeding to deliver it to the president of the nation. In addition to the presidential request, account was taken of the displeasure caused among certain sectors of the Armed Forces by the fact that the Church should publicly announce its position on the new Law on Trade Union Associations, without having "sent" it through the previously established channels.

From what has been learned, the document entitled "Gospel, Dialog and Society" takes its backing from the Puebla document, in addition to the papal encyclicals. And some of its content has already been set forth in a report which the Episcopal Team for the Lay Apostolate has been slowly circulating, under the title "Constructing the Political Community."

The text of the Argentine bishops tends to reevaluate and redeem politics. "Christian faith does not disdain political activity; on the contrary, it attaches value to it, and holds it in high esteem."

But what kind of politics? The kind of politics which, in its broadest and loftiest sense, proposes the attainment of the common welfare in both the national and the international realm. An ethical proposal. A report which, in the end, will serve as an element for restating in some consciences what the goals being pursued are.

2909

CSO: 3010

BRIEFS

LOAN FROM OPEC FUNDS--Barbados' minister of external affairs, Mr. Henry Forde signed a loan agreement for US \$1.5 million yesterday in Nassau, Bahamas. The money comes from the OPEC funds and signing on behalf of that organisation was its director-general, Dr. Ibrahim F. I. Shihatta. The Barbados Government will use the loan to import capital goods, spare parts and inputs required for agricultural and industrial production as well as food stuff and other essential consumer goods. The loan bears a four per cent interest rate and a service charge of .5 per cent per annum on amounts withdrawn and outstanding. It has a ten-year maturity including a three-year grace period. This loan is the second to be extended to Barbados which previously benefited from a balance of payment support loan of US \$1.5 million. (GIS). [Text] [FL101025 Bridgetown ADVOCATE-NEWS in English 6 May 80 p 1]

CSO: 3020



PARTY LEADERS VIEW ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 27 Apr 80 p 8

[Interview with Jarbas Passarinho, Jose Lins and Alvaro Valle, PDS [Social Democratic Party]; Pedro Simon, Marcondes Gadelha, Marcelo Cordeiro and Aurelio Peres, PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Mobilization Party]; Gilvan Rocha, Thales Ramalho and Miro Teixeira, PP [Popular Party]; Leite Chaves and Alceu Collares, PTB [Brazilian Labor Party]; and Henrique Santillo and Adhemar Santillo, PT [Workers Party]: "National Union, a Proposal Rejected in Debate"; date and place not given]

[Text] Congressmen of the five parties, a large part of them with leadership responsibilities--and others even representing alternative positions--analyze the national situation, proposing solutions from the viewpoint of their party platforms. Although the opposition, almost as a bloc, advocates calling a national constituent assembly as a solution for the growth problems of a nation passing through a democratic transition, the PDS leader in the Senate, Jarbas Passarinho, in labeling the idea "absurd," cites other feasible alternatives at hand--after all, the existing Congress has constituent powers and can reform anything with a simple majority vote.

Representatives of the government and the opposition have one point of agreement, however, in unanimously condemning the idea of a government of national union advocated by the PP chairman, Tancredo Neves, which is not being accepted even in his own party. According to the party's leader in the Senate, Gilvan Rocha, the role of an opposition party is to "point out the weaknesses and denounce the maneuvers of the government"; the party's leader in the Chamber of Deputies, Thales Ramalho, insists upon the constituent assembly as a point in a basis of agreement; and the party's secretary general, Miro Teixeira, wants the analysis of any proposal to be made by opposition parties as a bloc.

[Question] 1. In your opinion, is the nation in a crisis? What is its magnitude in the economic, social and political fields?

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho: I would not say that there is a crisis, but a general state of dissatisfaction, resulting essentially from the negative performance of the economy, battered in recent years by the huge increase in petroleum prices and by several poor harvests that--with the exception of the current one--led to higher domestic grain prices, less exports and more imports of foodstuffs. Finally, there are also the huge deficits in the public sector. Hence, as long as we do not overcome inflation and continue to have a deficit in our balance of payments, political unrest is to be expected as a result of social convulsions.

Jose Lins: The national crisis is a lack of communication: news emerges in the form of rumors and is virtually transformed into slogans for mass consumption. But the fault is not that of the communications media, which are fulfilling their function efficiently and entirely blamelessly. It is important that the most relevant matters be treated with the seriousness the present moment demands.

Alvaro Valle: I prefer to say that there are serious problems, which are being aggravated and which require solidarity in the nation's political class. But the government has the means to overcome what Senator Tancredo Neves termed a critical situation.

PMDB

Marcelo Cordeiro: The crisis is manifest in all fields of national activity. In the economic field, inflation, stagnation of basic sectors, the balance of payments; in the social field, the growing rate of unemployment, the impoverishment of large segments of the middle class; in the political field, the dormancy of institutions, with their functions stymied, so that the institutional order has become useless.

Aurelio Peres: There is a profound crisis, which the nation has no way of solving unless the regime is willing to make far-reaching reforms in various sectors, such as, for example, the agrarian, banking and tax structures. Within the limits of the regime, there is no solution, because such reforms should be made by the people, through a constituent assembly.

Pedro Simon: The crisis exists and it is most flagrant in the government's complete separation from the will of the people. The real crisis is in this government-nation dichotomy. What is worse, the Congress has no influence whatever, after 16 years of government without voting.

Marcondes Gadelha: Crisis is too vague a word to describe a much more serious situation. We are in the middle of a recession, indicated by a drop in the rates of capital accumulation and of growth in the Gross

Domestic Product (PIB); by an inflation above 80 percent; an atrocious deficit in the balance of payments; and, furthermore, an increase in unemployment; supply crises; urban crime, disbelief in institutions; failure of the political elites and widespread insecurity and pessimism.

PTB

Leite Chaves: There is a pronounced crisis that has led the nation to a very difficult impasse. Inflation has not been and will not be contained, while the rate of unemployment at all levels is extraordinary. The foreign debt is unbearable and there is no easy way out, because the nation has neither credit nor credibility abroad.

Alceu Collares: There are, clearly, crises, not just one crisis. There is an institutional crisis, a political crisis, an economic crisis, a social crisis and an educational crisis.

PP

Gilvan Rocha: We are disturbed about the national agony generated by the economic crisis.

Thales Ramalho: There is a grave and serious crisis in all sectors of national activity. The government has adopted only unpopular measures.

Miro Teixeira: There is a crisis and it results from authoritarianism and the people's distrust of the government's promises. Today's predominance by the executive branch over the legislative is typical of authoritarianism, where centralized power coexists with a National Congress that is in session but incapable of legislating.

PT

Henrique Santillo: There is a crisis in the system, which is nothing new. It began in 1973, with the crisis of international capitalism, and is now being exacerbated. The crisis is also internal, with the growth model of income concentration exhausted and the multinationals dominant.

Adhemar Santillo: The economic system installed in Brazil based upon industrialization, which was begun in 1950 and perfected in 1964, is exhausted.

[Question] 2. What role should the new parties play to overcome the current situation?

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho: The new parties should fulfill their mission subject to a systemic loyalty; that is, a loyalty to the regime, even though disagreeing with the government. Otherwise, by leading the people to believe that they are living under an odious regime, under a government that is

honest but surrounded by dishonest appointees, the opposition is sowing the seeds of the political storm, which usually leads to the military tempest.

Alvaro Valle: The parties have a defined role. Those that support the government must make suggestions, present plans of action and give congressional support to the executive branch. Parties of the opposition must make criticisms and submit their alternatives for national debate.

FNDB

Pedro Simon: In a democracy, the parties are the channels of communication between the people and the government. Where there is democracy, the decisions are made by the people, but by the organized people, through parties. Today, the opposition parties speak, but their voice has no echo because of the system; and the government party, because it is subservient, rather than having a voice, is the echo of the government's voice.

Marcondes Gadelha: To begin with, the temptation of easy solutions, of the coalition type or authoritarian adventures, must be resisted. Any viewpoint must be expressed within a democratic political model and this implies believing it is possible to find solutions within democracy.

Aurelio Peres: The parties must press for reform, with a combined effort demanding that a constituent assembly be called.

PP

Miro Teiseira: The opposition parties must adopt a common position to prevent the government from carrying out the institutional coup it is planning. They must expose to the nation maneuvers such as voting by districts, subparties at all levels, and the intention to extend terms of office.

Gilvan Rocha: The opposition parties must take a courageous position in criticizing the government. But this criticism cannot be radical. The PP, therefore, is drafting an alternative program.

PTB

Alceu Collares: It used to be necessary to assume that the parties would alternate in power and, as long as that does not happen, one cannot even speak about a democratic liberalization. The principal function of the parties is precisely that of coming to power to adopt the political reforms provided for in their platforms and this has not happened for 16 years; and, by the looks of things, it is not going to happen very soon.

PT

Adhemar Santillo: The parties should not collaborate with the government in administering the crisis, but rather force the government into a new



social pact, which will only be effective and legitimate through the constituent assembly.

[Question] 3. Would the government of national union proposed by Senator Tancredo Neves be the solution? If so, how should such a government be formed--with or without participation by the opposition parties in the cabinet? Should it be through a minimal program or through an emergency plan?

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho: A government of national union does not strike me as the remedy for the situation, because the dissatisfaction does not originate in Congress. On the contrary, the mixture (rather than combination) could be a more disturbing factor, in the event that, for example, a union of the socialist position with the majority of the opposition were attempted, with the government incorporating neocapitalism.

Alvaro Valle: Brazil is a nation that still has solutions within the traditional mechanisms of democracy. This is not a time for despair.

PMDB

Pedro Simon: National union would be achieved by calling a constituent assembly without revenge, without violence, but as a way of achieving harmony and reconciliation between the nation and the government.

Marcondes Gadelha: The government of national union, under whatever pretext, is the open door to fascism. There is nothing to guarantee that the opposition, even if participating in the government, would be in a position to influence it.

PP

Gilvan Rocha: National union smacks of accommodation. A more appropriate solution would be to call a constituent assembly.

Miro Teixeira: I am not indifferent to a proposal coming from the government, but it must be in terms of ideas and of goals and, preferably, include the convening of a constituent assembly. My proposal is union of the people with the opposition parties. I am in favor of a government of national salvation.

PTB

Leite Chaves: Although I consider the proposal of Senator Tancredo Neves patriotic--and he made it believing in its effectiveness--I believe, as do most of the opposition, that the solution would really be the constituent assembly.

PT

Henrique Santillo: I do not agree with the attempt to administer the crisis through a temporary conciliation of the elites, for the purpose of frustrating the manifest advances of popular movements. We need a juridical order, autonomous labor unions and a combination of democratic measures that can be attained only through a constituent assemble.

[Question] 4. Calling a constituent assembly is also mentioned as an option for overcoming the crisis. Do you agree? Would this solve the crisis, in the short or intermediate term?

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho: Calling a constituent assembly is the latest screen behind which the opposition has taken refuge, after the government snatched away its institutional banners. To assume that it would solve everything is to assume the absurd.

Jose Lins: There are solutions that can meet the nation's needs without having to call a constituent assembly. The constitutional amendments now being considered, which during debate will undergo a process of refinement, will in themselves certainly contribute to the broader solutions that will later prove necessary.

Alvaro Valle: There is no question that the nation needs a new constitution. There is a new Brazilian political situation today and the existing constitution is about as valid as that of the First Republic. But the constituent assembly must result from mature study of the political situation. For example, it is essential that the parties, which are the vehicles of popular expression, be well structured. And, at the same time, the Congress today has constituent power. In theory, the National Constituent Assembly already exists.

PMDB

Pedro Simon: We are not going to solve Brazil's problems through it, but we are going to define the way to solve them. We would then be approaching the great decisions, which should not be the work of technocrats or a half-dozen officials, but the mean of the people's thinking.

Marcondes Gedeia: The constituent assembly would put an end to all evils.

Aurelio Peres: The constituent assembly will not solve the problem, but will open the way to solving the crisis.

PP

Thales Ramalho: The constituent assembly should be convened to prepare a social pact expressing the national reality. Tensions wil diminish only

through participation of the popular vote, of all society. This is the path to national reconciliation. The people are the source of the legitimacy of the government, of the regime and of the constitution.

PTB

Alceu Collares: Calling a constituent assembly is not a panacea for all the republic's ills. It is simply the way to legitimize political power. And, undoubtedly, the way to establish the great national debate to draw upon the latent forces of nationality and to bring about establishment of a rule of social and democratic law.

PT

Adhemar Santillo: The constituent assembly is the crowning of the people's struggle for a social pact. But all provisions should first be made for it to become the absolute will of the people, at least the most representative possible. This could only come about through revoking all the acts of exception, through labor freedom, freedom of the press, the right to strike, party organization without any hindrance; in short, full reestablishment of the rule of law.

[Question] 5. To what extent is agreement admissible between the government and the opposition?

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho: To the extent that each one fulfills his duty, within the limits of his powers. The government cannot ignore the opposition--nor even impose the "dictatorship of the majority"--neither can the opposition be irresponsible. In such a case, the political situation would improve greatly, eliminating unnecessary friction, a factor of disturbance that often originates in demagogic proposals, marked by a premature distributivism that can only do the nation harm.

Jose Lins: Institutionalization of the multiparty system will bring about the natural clash of political forces required by the democratic process itself and which provides conditions for agreements in the national interest. This agreement will not depend upon the government, but upon the process and multiparty conditions.

Alvaro Valle: Clearly, the field of agreement is much larger today than it was a few years ago. No one has a monopoly on the truth; neither the PDS, the PMDB, the PP nor the PTB, much less the PT. But all should have a common denominator: the desire for solution of the nation's problems, which are serious, with or without a crisis. I do not believe it is possible for the Figueiredo government--or any other--to do everything the nation needs, without a profound reform in some of our structures and without massive public support. Everything suggests raising national

consciousness, which is easier in a democracy when there is understanding among political leaders.

#### PMDB

Pedro Simon: Although the PMDB says the solution is the constituent assembly--and anything else is patchwork--we are constantly submitting suggestions and debating the Brazilian problem.

Marcondes Gadelha: I view this idea of accommodation as a lack of imagination, an inability to think of new and creative solutions, that leads to such simplistic reasoning. Accommodation with the government is a futile process and a dangerous mystification which could lead the people to despair through the impression that everything is the same, without any way to avoid the abyss.

Aurelio Peres: There is no possibility of conciliation.

Marcelo Cordeiro: The process of democratic transition will not take place through insurrection or violent overthrow of the regime or its government. It will have to operate by some historic type of understanding. Under present conditions, an essential step for understanding is holding the municipal elections in November, for the purpose of creating grounds for frank negotiations.

#### PP

Gilvan Rocha: Any proposal of understanding must come from the government. The opposition is responsible for calling attention to government weaknesses and exposing the government's maneuvers.

Thales Ramalho: Such an understanding can only come through calling a constituent assembly; any other proposal will have to come from the government.

Miro Teixeira: I accept the proposal of agreement only if it comes from the government. And any proposal, whatever it may be, must be analyzed by the opposition parties as a bloc.

#### PTE

Leite Chaves: In the institutional field, for such an understanding, there would first have to be: approval of an amendment of the prerogatives of the legislative branch; reduction of the mandate of the indirectly elected senators; elimination of subparties; and, finally, convening of a constituent assembly.

Alceu Collares: Such an understanding can only come about through calling a constituent assembly; any other proposal will have to come from the government. In the current regime, it is impossible.



PT

Henrique Santillo: I feel that some sectors of the opposition are waiting only for the calling of a constituent assembly for such a pact. I assert again that, however firm and well-intentioned may be those who propose such an agreement, it would only delay the end of the crisis, if we were to collaborate in its administration. I offer the government, in all sincerity, the suggestion that the acts of exception be revoked and the nation be prepared for the constituent assembly.

PDS

Jarbas Passarinho--leader in the Senate, former governor of Para and former minister of labor and of education; 59 years of age.

Jose Lins--vice leader in the Senate, elected by Ceara in his only election campaign thus far. An engineer, 54 years old, he was superintendent of SUDENE [Superintendency for Development of the Northeast] and secretary of highways.

Alvaro Valle--federal deputy elected by the erstwhile ARENA [National Renewal Alliance] of Rio de Janeiro with 100,000 votes; now chairman of the Education Committee in the Chamber of Deputies; lawyer and diplomat, 46 years old.

PMDB

Pedro Simon--vice leader in the Senate, calling himself "a liberal of the left"; age 46.

Marcondes Gadelha--vice leader of party; age 36.

PP

Gilvan Rocha--leader in the Senate; physician, 44 years old.

Thales Ramalho--leader in the Chamber, federal deputy for five terms. Was secretary general of the former MDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement] for 14 years; lawyer, age 53.

Miro Teixeira--secretary general of the PP, the federal deputy most often elected in the history of the republic and possible candidate for governor of Rio de Janeiro state.

PTB

Leite Chaves--leader in the Senate; 46 years old.

Alceu Collares--leader in the Chamber of Deputies, with the largest vote in Rio Grande do Sul; age 46.

Marcelo Cordeiro (as published; PMDB)--federal deputy at age 30; was student leader and city councilman in Salvador.

PT

Henrique Santillo--leader in the Senate; physician, age 45.

Adhemar Santillo--leader in the Chamber of Deputies; had the highest number of votes in his state, Goias. Lawyer, 43 years old.

Aurelio Peres (as published; PMDB)--federal deputy, age 40.

BB34

CSO: 3001

PCB COUNTERS MEREZES CRITICISM, ADMITS PARTY CRISIS

Statement by CC Member

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 5

[Text] (Local bureau and local news service)--Hercules Correia, former deputy, former metalworkers' leader and a member of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), handed to the press in Rio de Janeiro a manifesto in response to the recent accusations made by the secretary general of the party, Luis Carlos Prestes. "Without doubt," Hercules declared, "this is the PCB's most serious crisis in its history in Brazil."

The manifesto (which was also signed by Glaciano Dias, Salomao Malina, Teodoro Mello and Armenio Guedes) regards these most recent pronouncements by Prestes as "an attack on the PCB itself" and accuses the secretary general of adopting "a coup-oriented policy of obsessively seeking risks and tensions as a method of developing a supposed revolutionary course of action."

"This is not the time," Hercules said, "for thinking in terms of 'taking power by assault' but rather for fighting at the side of the workers to obtain better living conditions. The fundamental consideration is to have unity among all the opposition forces and respect for democratic principles of conduct. We want to form a broad front and inaugurate a general discussion of our country's problems," he said. "We hope that our comrade Prestes, in the name of these democratic principles, will debate with us concerning our possible differences of opinion."

Sao Paulo

The Brazilian Communist Party is prepared to form a "broad front" in opposition to the government and the regime--side by side with Leonel Brizola, Teotonio Vilela and Olavo Setubal--because its current objective is "to unite all those who wish to take at least one step--even if only one step--against oppression." The PCB, moreover, does not claim for itself the leadership of this front.

These PCB positions were revealed yesterday in Sao Paulo by the communist leader Giocondo Dias, who also disclosed--at the offices of the daily A VOZ DA UNIDADE--the letter in response to the statement by Luis Carlos Prestes.

Giocondo Dias declared that the document he made public does not yet represent the official position of the Communist Party in response to the criticism from its secretary general but only "an initial position on the part of certain leaders." He added that this definitive position is expected to be taken "some time in the future, after a more specific analysis has been made of Comrade Prestes' statement."

Dias also stated that the decision to punish, or not to punish, Luis Carlos Prestes for his statements and accusations will be taken only after the more detailed study that the PCB will make. "We must act with prudence and tolerance," Dias said, "because we are the majority. But we do not deny to the minority the right to complain," he added.

He included in this "minority" the secretary general of the PCB, Luis Carlos Prestes, whom--incidentally--he did not criticize directly. "Prestes is not just a mythological figure," Dias said. "He is a man worthy of esteem, and we want to resolve all problems with him. He may be right in some of his criticism, and we ourselves have acknowledged this fact in statements we have made. We are of the opinion, however, that the will of the majority should be carried out."

#### "The Central Committee Is Legitimate"

Following is the full text of the PCB statement:

"Our comrade Luis Carlos Prestes made public in late March--on the occasion of the ceremonies inaugurating the daily VOZ DA UNIDADE--an open letter to the communists in which he discusses primarily the political and organizational problems of the Brazilian Communist Party. Actually, however, it is a statement addressed to a nebulous group of forces of the Left within which the PCB appears to have dissolved.

"The signers of the present document--conscious of their responsibility to the Brazilian communists--cannot, and do not propose to, address themselves to the same heterogeneous group of political forces and currents of opinion but rather to the activists of the PCB and to the Brazilian public. We believe it is essential to clarify immediately certain points raised by Comrade Prestes in his letter, and to do so without prejudice to the discussions that will of course ensue.

"1. In our opinion it is not possible to contest the legitimacy of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party. A communist party is inconceivable without leadership. As for the PCB, its leadership was elected at the Sixth Congress; and despite the impediments and difficulties



it has encountered and the errors it has assuredly made, nothing has occurred since then of a nature to disqualify it statutorily for the exercise of its functions. When Comrade Prestes categorizes the current leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party as bankrupt and in practice nonexistent and calls on the communists--the party rank and file--to work for its dissolution, he is (whether intentionally or unintentionally) striking a blow at the PCB itself, of which he has been for 50 years of our country's history one of the most notable expressions, and is in fact attacking the very concept of a communist party.

"2. The Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party does not, therefore, derive its legitimacy solely from respect for the statutory precepts. It derives its legitimacy from its fidelity to the policy line adopted by the Sixth Congress of the PCB, and from its demonstrated capacity to develop this line in consonance with the evolution of our national life.

"3. At the present time it is less important to defend the action of the communist leadership than to defend the policy of the Sixth Congress. This is the nub of the question, as Comrade Prestes takes it upon himself to make clear. We regard ourselves first and foremost as committed to that policy line and to its implementation. It is a line (and this is worth repeating) whose aim is to orient the action of the Brazilian Communist Party toward a policy of the masses--a policy of confidence in their capacity to deal with, and resolve in a positive manner, the serious problems posed for the nation by the installation in April 1964 of an antidemocratic, antipopular and antinational regime. It is consequently a line that condemns a coup-oriented policy of "leftism"--of obsessively resorting to dangerous tensions as a method of developing a supposed revolutionary course of action.

"The policy of the Sixth Congress is an active, vital, vigorous policy. To hold it responsible for a supposed passivity on the part of the communists under the dictatorship would in itself be absurd if it were not even more absurd to accuse the Brazilian communists of passivity and a lack of vigor during this historical period which--thanks above all to the democratic resistance of our people--we are beginning to overcome.

"It is true that not all communists share this perception of the policy line of their party, and also that the PCB leadership has made mistakes in the exercise of its functions--mistakes which it has itself attempted to identify, not always with the greatest success. It is not fair, however, to confuse one issue with another.

"4. We believe that in view of the problems posed by Comrade Prestes and the very fact of the publication of his letter, it is imperative at the present moment to establish an unambiguous and definitive line of conduct. The Brazilian Communist Party will otherwise find itself immersed in chaos, and the struggle for the cause of democracy and socialism in our country

will be set back many years. A detailed response to Comrade Prestes' letter--which itself will be reproduced and distributed in due course--is called for and will assuredly be forthcoming.

"We believe we are duty bound to state that the PCB leadership will not avoid debate on any of the questions raised by Comrade Prestes in his letter, or on any questions that may be posed by other communists. The PCB leadership must on the contrary fulfill its task of conducting, among all communists, the best organized and most democratic debate possible. It must therefore direct the process of holding the Seventh PCB Congress--the only jurisdiction capable of having the final word with respect to party policy and organization.

"Despite what he says in certain passages of his letter, Comrade Prestes unfortunately makes it clear that he regards the congressional effort as incompatible with the struggle for the legality of the PCB, overlooking the fact that success in the one area enhances the effort in the other.

"He also makes it clear that he does not intend to cooperate in the furtherance of internal democracy and discipline within the ranks of the PCB, or in the holding of the congress, or in the implementation of the decisions of the congress. His conception of a front is not the conception set forth in the PCB policy line, for he presumes that the defeat of the dictatorship would necessarily bring about the establishment of an antimonopoly and anti-large landowner government--something which does not, in our view, correspond to the reality of the situation.

"5. It is therefore apparent that profound political differences exist between the positions of Comrade Prestes and those of the policy line of the Brazilian Communist Party. We are not asking that Comrade Prestes renounce his positions. We believe, however, that no differences exist which cannot be discussed, and that it is always possible to strive to impart to the discussion a democratic orientation and a democratic conclusion.

"6. It also appears obvious to us that the form of the discussion which Comrade Prestes has proposed and begun to put into practice is neither democratic, nor organized, nor disciplined but is instead anarchic. If this orientation prevails, the communists will in effect be turning away from the possibility of holding a congress that could resolve all questions posed by events and by our consciences.

"The leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party has--as is well known--a point of view which is based on a series of aspects of party policy and organization, and we believe it will fulfill its duties and exercise its prerogatives. If it fails to do so, it will cease to exist and the PCB will find itself immersed in troubled waters--in a liquidationist turmoil worse than any situation of crisis it has faced to date. This is precisely what the consequences would be if the Central Committee were to dissolve

itself, for the very reason that there is no jurisdiction to which the responsibilities of this organ could be transferred.

"The leadership of the Brazilian Communist Party does not, however, regard any of the questions raised by Comrade Prestes as closed issues. The merit of each of these questions will be judged in the course of the freest kind of organized collective discussion, with participation on the part of all communists. The PCB leadership has an inescapable duty to conduct this process with serenity and in good faith; without arbitrarily imposing its points of view (which are obviously not monolithic); and without preventing any activists of the PCB from participating in that process--but also without permitting the process to be misdirected."

#### Prestes Against PCB Registration

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Mar 80 p 5

[Text] The secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party, Luis Carlos Prestes, reaffirmed yesterday in Rio de Janeiro his position of opposition to the proposal--put forward by certain members of the top PCB leadership--that registration of the party be requested of the Superior Electoral Court [TSE].

"The dictatorship will never grant us legal status without a struggle," Prestes said in a press release. "What it is attempting to do at the present moment is to force the PCB into an agreement that would represent a compromise with the dictatorship--a compromise that would be incompatible with the revolutionary and internationalist character of the PCB, with the result that the party would be taken in tow by the bourgeoisie and placed at the service of the dictatorship. Such an agreement is therefore unacceptable to the working class and to all genuine communists," he said.

The PCB leader added that "with the LSN [National Security Law] in full force, any proceedings in the Electoral Court would be doomed to failure unless the PCB's legality were transformed into a demand on the part of the masses, who would--in the streets--impose their will as they did in 1945."

Prestes also reiterated that "the most immediate task of all communists--and of genuine democrats--is to initiate a large-scale campaign for legalization of the PCB."

#### A Lawyer's Warning

Aldo Lima e Silva, Luis Carlos Prestes' lawyer, warned in Sao Paulo that in the event a group petitions the TSE for registration of the party the electoral magistrate could request an opinion from the Military Court. The court, he said, would then rule against legalization of the party, basing its action on the National Security Law, and the petition would be rejected. The TSE would thereby be establishing a legal precedent that would make any future petitions for legalization of the PCB difficult.

The lawyer acknowledged that one of three other hypotheses could also prove true, namely: "the government could decide not to apply the LSN, as in the case of the Usury Law, which to satisfy the interests of the nation's big bankers is currently not being enforced; it could shelve the petition, citing the Security Law; or it could shelve the petition without giving any explanation, as occurred in 1962 when the communists (led by Prestes) fulfilled all the requirements of the electoral laws then in force, submitting a total of 55,000 signatures including those of a number of leading noncommunists.

"At this very moment," the lawyer added, "we are witnessing the difficulties being encountered by those groups that are attempting to reorganize the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] and PTB [Brazilian Labor Party] and also by the group of the PT [Workers Party]--parties which are no more than 'Center-Left,' if even that."

In the opinion of Aldo Lima e Silva "the only time the PCB ever achieved effective legal status it did so by dint of a powerful mass movement that was carried out against the Estado Novo as far back as the World War II era. I do not believe in legalization of the PCB without the prior repeal of the LSN through the instrumentality of a large-scale, powerful people's movement that would embrace all the democratic forces," he said.

10992

CSO: 3001



**CFP STATES SUPERHARVEST WILL ENSURE PRICE STABILITY**

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 27 Apr 80 p 41

[Text] Brasilia--The president of the Production Financing Commission (CFP), Francisco Vilela, asserted yesterday that this year's abundant harvest will assure price stability for consumers, especially of foodstuffs, during the second half of the year, when the crops will come to market.

The explanation for this, according to him, is very simple: the abundance of goods will result in their being sold at prices accessible to consumers. "If the abundant crops arrive in a normal flow, without interruption," said Vilela, "consumers will benefit from the harvest, which represents a very powerful tool in the fight against inflation."

According to the CFP president, consumers will benefit from this year's excellent harvest in two ways. First, by the abundant supply itself and, second, by the government's rearguard action to assure the normal flow of marketing. In addition to these benefits, he said this year's harvest "will reestablish quality levels, offering alternatives to the consumer."

**Critical Situation**

Francisco Vilela reported that the only product "in a critical situation" at present is beans, but asserted that prospects are favorable for an adequate harvest. He promised that products such as rice, vegetable oils and small-animal meats such as chicken and pork will have stable prices throughout the year.

Although agreeing with the CFP president that the harvest will benefit the consumer, the supply secretary of the Agriculture Ministry, Helio Tollini, and his assistant for grain sales, Gilberto Batalha, preferred not to speak of "price stability."

In Helio Tollini's opinion, a large supply of goods means "lower prices, more favorable" to consumers. "There is no reason," he said, "for the real prices of foods, with an excellent harvest, to rise more than the monetary correction." But he did not venture to make price predictions, asserting that "everything will depend upon the behavior of the market."

Beyond the fact that a large supply should result in lower prices, Helio Tollini mentioned two indirect effects of this year's harvest: costs will be less for producers and Brazil will not have to resort to importing products, thus economizing foreign exchange. Last year the Brazilian government had to import rice and beans in order to assure domestic supply.

According to the supply secretary, the government does not intend to intervene in the market by setting prices, but will let it act freely. "This will only happen if a specific situation, in the marketing of a given product, requires federal intervention."

The government's concern, according to adviser Gilberto Batalha, is to make sure the producer has a good return, making agriculture "a good business to be in." With this stimulus, "they will produce more and consumers will benefit by getting goods at lower prices."

Francisco Vilela, Helio Tollini and his adviser all view the minimum-price policy as a guarantee to the producers that their crops will be purchased if market conditions are not good, while assuring, through buffer stocks, supply of the domestic market.

In the opinion of all three government experts, consumers will be the great beneficiaries of this harvest. They also point out the important role a large supply of goods will have--with prices accessible to the consumer--as a great weapon in the fight against inflation during the second half of this year.

8834

CSO: 3001

## BRAZIL

### TRADE DEFICIT FIGURES, DEVELOPMENT OF INFLATION REPORTED

#### Trade Deficit Soars

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 1 May 80 p 27

[Text] Brasilia--The deficit in the Brazilian trade balance reached \$1.348 billion U.S. in the first quarter of this year, the highest figure in the period since the beginning of the oil crisis, according to Bank of Brazil Foreign Trade Department (CACEX) figures released yesterday by the Ministry of Finance. In the comparable period last year, the trade account showed a negative balance of only \$415 million U.S. The increase in the deficit this year is 225 percent greater than that in the first quarter of 1979.

Brazil's imports in the first 3 months of the year cost an overall total of \$5 billion 465 million U.S., while the products exported in the same period brought in a total of \$4 billion 117 million U.S., according to the CACEX figures. In March of this year, imports totaled \$1 billion 899 million U.S. and exports totaled \$1 billion 442 million, resulting in a deficit balance of \$457.7 million U.S., the second largest during the first 3 months of the year. The deficit in January was \$482 million U.S. and that in February \$409 million.

Of the \$5 billion 465 million U.S. spent on imports in the first quarter of this year, \$2 billion 234 million went for the purchase of oil. This sum represents 40.8 percent of all Brazilian expenditures for purchases on foreign markets. In March alone, Brazil paid out \$870 million for foreign oil purchases, the largest sum for the quarter. In January, \$704 million U.S. was spent and in February, \$660 million. Comparing the average expenditures last year on oil imports, it can be seen that there was a substantial increase, since the country spent about \$350 million per month in 1979. According to the government authorities, Brazil concentrated its oil imports in the first quarter in order to establish safe reserves, and also because substantial purchases of heavy oil to be used to produce gasoline and diesel oil for export were made.

Coffee, normally the most profitable export product in the Brazilian list, brought in only \$453 million U.S. in the first quarter of this year. The official explanation for this low income has to do with the strikes at the port of Santos in the month of March, which delayed the shipping of thousands of sacks. Despite this drop in the performance of the trade account in the export category, authorities at the ministry remain "confident" that a balance of \$20 billion U.S. will be achieved by year's end.

#### Trade Balance in Millions of U.S. Dollars

First Quarter	Imports	Exports	Balance
1980	5,465.8	4,117	-1,348.8
1979	3,540	3,124	-416
1978	3,028	2,682	-346
1977	2,837	2,687	-150
1976	2,712	1,851	-861
1975	2,963	2,012	-951
1974	2,523	1,428	-1,095

Data source: Bulletin of the Central Bank--CACEX--CIEF

#### Export Figure Discussed

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 25 Apr 80 p 29

[Text] "We continue to be optimistic about the minimal goal of \$20 billion worth of exports up to 1985, since although there is a deficit, the Brazilian trade balance picture is good," the director of the CACEX, Benedito Moreira, stated yesterday while at the National Field Distributors' Institute for the conclusion of the Export Course. He said that exports should reach \$4 billion by the end of the first quarter, representing a 30-percent increase over the first quarter of 1979. The role of basic products, to judge from the months of January and February, should show an increase of 22 percent by the end of the quarter, with a 44.6-percent increase for industrialized products. He said that this is due to the strong role played by manufactured goods in the first quarter, and as a result, the limited role of basic products at the beginning of the year.

Moreira confirmed the predicted trade balance deficit for the first quarter, but he believes it can be reduced in the second quarter and balanced as of July. He explained that this is due to the impact of the licensing done last year in the first quarter, and the historic factor that the second half of the year is stronger in exports, with an average increase of 25 percent per year, since sales and shipments of farm products always begin as of May and June.

As to the maintenance of import permits, Benedito Moreira said that the measure had a general initial impact, due to the tendency of businessmen to anticipate imports. The measure implemented, he said, was the centralization,



which delayed the issuance of permits, but decentralization is already being undertaken in more than 50 sectors. "In the medium and long range the measure would be negative," he added, "but in May we will already be back to normalcy for the bulk of exports, and by June, everything will be normalized, in the sense of a gentleman's agreement to refrain from speculative stocking." He said that the government is not seeking to paralyze imports, because this would affect the employment level and exports themselves. "What we did," he said, "was to engage in dialog with the private sector--automobiles, vehicle parts, tractors, chemical machinery and industry--the most representative in terms of export, to make them aware that each must make its contribution, whether it be in terms of competitive prices or increased exports."

Moreira also discussed the impact of the metallurgical workers' strike, stating that as the major exporters are concentrated in the ABC [Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul] industrial sector, this impact has already been felt, "since applications for export permits are declining, as the businessmen fear they cannot deliver the products."

#### 1980 Goals Safe

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 2 May 80 p 15

[Text] Sao Paulo--The secretary general of the Ministry of Finance, Eduardo de Carvalho, said yesterday that the deficit of \$1.3 billion U.S. reported for the trade balance for the first quarter does not threaten the government's goal of establishing a balance between exports and imports by the end of the year.

"We should not take these results as definitive," Carvalho added.

The first-quarter deficit, according to Carvalho, can be attributed to the country's expenditures on purchases of crude oil. He explained that the government was concerned about establishing stocks which would guarantee a supply for the coming 50 days.

But it was the "December packet" measures more than the oil purchases, Eduardo de Carvalho explained, which were also responsible for increasing the deficit, since the effects are only now being felt.

"In addition to this, as everyone knows, Brazil's exports are not major in the first quarter of the year. They are in fact considerable beginning in May, with the initial sales on the foreign market of our main farm products."

## Fifty-Five Percent Inflation Predicted

Rio de Janeiro 3 GLOBO in Portuguese 5 May 80 p 13

[Text] Vitoria--Minister of Finance Ernane Galveas said yesterday in Guarapari, where he spent the weekend, that the government estimates that the rate of inflation will come to 55 percent this year. He regards the mentioned possibility that inflation will reach 80 percent as baseless.

"We are taking steps in the right direction," he said, "and although it is acknowledged that inflation will continue to resist until at least the second half of the year, the new prediction is that it will actually fall after the second half of the year to a level substantially lower than that for last year."

The minister recalled that "although the government has established an exchange adjustment of 40 percent and a monetary adjustment of 45 percent, the rate of inflation as such has never been set. Thus we expect that the rate of inflation this year will come to about 55 percent."

"This estimate," he added, "has been derived from the results of the measures which are being implemented, such as the increase in farm production, containment of credit and control of a series of basic prices."

Speaking about the establishment of compulsory loans on capital gains and changes in the Financial Operations Tax (IOF) rate, the minister said that the government expected resistant reaction. But, he said, "it is necessary to make a little sacrifice to help the government combat inflation. Inflation is the number one enemy, and is creating terrible distortions and social concern, leading to stress and political unrest."

Ernane Galvaes acknowledged that the battle against inflation is achieving results more slowly than the government hoped, which is the reason for the adoption of other measures, such as those in connection with the IOF and compulsory loans. The minister however dismissed the shock approach for combating inflation, saying that it is not practical for Brazil.

"We have wage adjustments by categories every month. The shock treatment could possibly lead to a limitation on wages in a given month. This is impractical, since you cannot adjust the wages for one category in one month and fail to do so for the others in the following month or months. What we have been pursuing is a restrictive monetary policy, with containment of credit expansion to within limits consistent with the price goals for 1980."

### Strike

Ernane Galvaes said that the metallurgical workers in Sao Paulo are not having the major impact they did 30 days ago, arguing that the number of

workers going to the factories is now substantial. He said he believes it is "abusive to seek to achieve absurd productivity, far above the reasonable level, and that which could logically be defended by the trade union leaders." He said that the law must be respected.

"Now if the courts said that productivity should be set at 7 percent and there were no other demands which could lead to a strike, continuation of the movement from that point on was a violation of the law."

The minister commented on the possibility of changes in the new wage policy, saying that "this depends greatly on the actions by the working classes, on negotiations, and on the attitude toward collective disagreement. Beyond this, there is no need to change the law, which is a law approved by the congress."

3157

CSO: 3001

LABOR MINISTRY RELEASES REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT FIGURES

Sao Paulo 1979 Employment

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 2 May 80 p 14

[Text] Sao Paulo--There were 14.6 percent fewer new jobs in the state of Sao Paulo in 1979 than in 1978. That estimate was made by the Labor Ministry for the sectors of commerce, services and industry, where 350,000 jobs were created last year, compared to 410,000 in 1978.

Sociologist Annes Andraus of the Interunion Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (DIEESE) considers the unemployment situation in Sao Paulo serious and "although the balance of new jobs is still positive, there is a distinct reduction in openings."

Although this reduction has been disturbing to labor-market analysts, the drop registered last year and not yet announced by the Labor Ministry (the number of new jobs was about 350,000, according to the University of Sao Paulo professor) did not reach the low point of 1977, when only 277,000 new jobs were created by these three sectors of the Sao Paulo state economy. For that reason, Annes Andraus asks:

"Why are the ministers of the economic area constantly warning workers about the unemployment problem, when 3 years ago the situation was much worse and the government did not bother to issue any warnings?"

In 1977, an untypical year, classified by the sociologist as one of sectoral crisis, industry generated 125,000 jobs while the commerce and service sectors created only 152,000 new job openings. However, even in 1977--and it is typical of recent years, Annes Andraus emphasizes--of the total hours worked in Sao Paulo state industry, overtime hours represented 8 to 10 percent. That is, despite the drop in new job openings, industry retained their employees for overtime work that could have been performed by new employees.

Lack of data and information about the job market has, in fact, prevented more precise technical analyses. The Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries (FIESP) has information about 1975, when 2.4 million jobs existed in



80,000 industrial firms in Sao Paulo state. The federation merely brings up to date the level of industrial employment, based upon a starting figure as of December 1970. FIESP specialists are not authorized to reveal this base figure.

In any event, the monthly index collected by FIESP contrasts with the data from the Labor Ministry, a survey based upon reports of changes in the personnel roster required of all industrial firms by Law No 4923. According to the index, the number of new industrial jobs in Greater Sao Paulo registered the second trend since December 1970: an increase of 16.9 percent in 1972; in the same month of 1973, it reached a growth of 100 percent and, beginning in 1974, began to fall. In December of that year it increased only 0.3 percent in comparison with December of the previous year; 15 percent in 1975; 18 percent in 1976; 0.2 percent in 1977; 10 percent in 1978; and 0.9 percent in 1979. Last March the level of employment showed an increase of only 0.3 percent in comparison with December 1979 and 58 percent compared to the base month of December 1979 [as published; 1969?].

#### Situation Worsens

Despite the conflicting data, sociologist Annex Andraus contends that the situation of the Sao Paulo labor market can be divided into two quite distinct phases: the first, which extended from 1968 to 1974; and the second, from 1974 to the present.

"But the situation has been worsening, beginning around the end of 1976 to the end of 1977, a period that has a serious unemployment problem, in response to the deepening economic crisis. Although the balance of new jobs is still positive, there is a clear reduction in job openings."

Among job openings, the greatest fluctuations are in industry, "the engine of economic growth, but also the engine of crisis," since the tertiary sector (commerce and services) does not have "autonomy of action," the sociologist explains.

As a result, based upon the Labor Ministry data through 1978, Annex Andraus says that the tendency of industry to offer less jobs has been offset by the more stable behavior of commerce and services.

The Labor Ministry data also reveal that, aside from new jobs, "the remaining positions offered by business firms are filled by those who are entering the labor market for the first time." And he concludes:

"This procedure helps sharpen competition and intensify the trend toward lower wages, since the workers seeking employment for the first time naturally are paid less than those with more experience."

**Number of New Jobs, Sao Paulo State: Industry, Commerce and Services  
(in thousands of new jobs)**

Year	Total	Percent Change from Previous Year	Industry	Percent Change from Previous Year	Commerce	Percent Change from Previous Year
1969	228	-	121	-	107	-
1970	310	+36.0	192	+58.7	118	+10.3
1971	371	+19.7	232	+20.8	139	+17.8
1972	437	+17.8	267	+15.1	170	+22.3
1973	563	+28.8	367	+37.4	196	+15.3
1974	428	-24.0	242	-34.0	186	- 5.1
1975	433	+ 1.2	229	- 5.4	204	+ 9.7
1976	436	+ 0.7	244	+ 6.5	192	- 5.9
1977	277	-36.5	125	-48.8	152	-20.8
1978	410	+48.0	209	+67.2	201	+32.2
1979	350*	-14.6	-	-	-	-

\*Estimate

Sources: Labor Ministry, General Secretariat and Documentation and Information Center

**Regional Figures for February**

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 25 Apr 80 p 27

[Text] Brasilia--Total job offers in February, as compared to January, fell in four and rose in six metropolitan regions, according to data released yesterday by the Labor Ministry. The figures were lower by 0.13 percent in Rio de Janeiro, 0.02 percent in Sao Paulo, 0.03 percent in Curitiba and 0.82 percent in Belem.

Job offers increased by 0.34 percent in Fortaleza, 0.43 percent in Salvador, 0.36 percent in Recife, 0.7 percent in Belo Horizonte, 0.25 percent in Porto Alegre and 0.25 percent in Brasilia. The survey, made monthly by the SINE (National Employment System), an agency of the Labor Ministry, in the industrial, civil construction, commerce and services sectors, covers 3,787 firms with a total of 2,645,000 employees.

No significant increases or decreases in job openings were reported by the four sectors surveyed during February as compared to January, since no changes exceeded 1 percent. The only two exceptions were in Belo Horizonte civil construction, where new jobs increased 3.57 percent, and the Belem commerce sector, which had a 2.29 percent increase.

The only decline in Rio de Janeiro was 0.70 percent in industry. Sao Paulo reported drops of 0.11 percent in industry and 0.11 percent in

civil construction. Compared to the same month last year, February employment openings fell 0.87 percent in Rio de Janeiro, 3.76 percent in Curitiba and 2.25 percent in Brasilia. It increased only 0.48 percent in Sao Paulo. The greatest increase, 4.15 percent, was in Belo Horizonte.

In relation to the base month of the survey, February 1977, overall employment openings declined only in Curitiba, by 1.79 percent. February 1980 figures increased over the base month as follows in the other nine metropolitan regions: 7.78 percent in Rio de Janeiro, 3.10 percent in Sao Paulo, 18.53 percent in Belem, 12.77 percent in Fortaleza, 7.49 percent in Salvador, 14.32 percent in Recife, 13.46 percent in Belo Horizonte, 8.11 percent in Porto Alegre and 13.05 percent in Brasilia.

#### January Civil Construction Employment

Brasilia CORREIO BRAZILIENSE in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 1

[Text] Civil construction has 29 percent fewer workers in Brasilia and in Curitiba and 15 percent less in Sao Paulo, according to figures reported by the National Employment System (SINE) in a table comparing the sector's personnel in January 1980 with the same month of the previous year.

Besides these three metropolitan regions, civil construction had fewer employed workers in Rio de Janeiro (12.4 percent less), Porto Alegre (down 8.27 percent), Salvador (6.99 percent less) and Belem (4.47 percent less).

Despite such negative figures, civil construction improved slightly in January, as there was an increase in the number of employees compared to the preceding month, December 1979. The best performance was in Sao Paulo, where the number of employees increased 2.61 percent, very significant because it is the city with the largest number of construction workers.

8834

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RUMORS OF POSSIBLE DISMISSAL OF PLANNING MINISTER ON RISE

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 15 Apr 80 p 41

[Article by Helival Rios: "Rumors Grow That Delfim Netto May Fall"]

[Text] Brasilia--"Planning Minister Delfim Netto is hanging by a thread; one false move and the whole superstructure erected with so much optimism to overcome the drastic deficit in the balance of payments and control inflation and unemployment will immediately tumble." It is not known to what extent that idea, which circulated widely in the nation's capital last week, is true. Nor is it known how reliable are the rumors suggesting great irritation with the planning minister on the part of Planalto Palace and certain vocal military leaders. That irritation is said to be aggravated by the recent case of Rio Doce Valley Company stock and the 6.6 percent inflation rate of March served merely as another "drop of water."

It is true that much of this model we now have was set up and consolidated during the "golden years" of the 1964 movement, under the inspiration of Delfim himself. But it is also true that the planning minister's current strategy in fighting inflation falls right in line with the principal tenets of both neoclassical and neo-Keynesian economic adjustment. From the viewpoint of these two major schools there are not many repairs to be made, and this is what alarms the many persons who, in one form or another, express themselves against the planning minister.

Delfim is not succeeding in overcoming inflation in the short run, but the question is: would anyone be capable of doing so under current conditions?

Everything indicates that it would be quite rash to harbor any illusions in this respect. There are those who insist that the current inflation is typical "demand inflation"; others say it is "cost inflation"; and still others say it is nothing of the sort, but rather a mixture of these two "special cases."

Behind the labels, however, the observation arises that our inflation is, in essence, the fruit of serious errors made in the past, notably steering the economy toward sectors and objectives highly dependent on outside



forces. This is why the entire nation must work this year to generate about \$12 billion extra to cover its foreign dependency. (This is the current-account deficit according to some estimates. The official estimate is \$9 billion.)

As the nation is unable to generate even \$1 billion of such funds, since it has deficits in all its foreign accounts, we must be content with paying for at least the greater part of our imports of goods, perhaps about \$20 billion this year. However, as the current-account deficit must be paid every year, we are going to go abroad and borrow more money. This loan will extort from us more and more interest, so that in the following year this need for additional funds will no longer be \$12 billion, but \$13 billion or \$16 billion, and in future years will be even higher.

It is, obviously, a genuine extortion of national resources, simply the price to be paid for our having opened up the nation to foreign capital. Juscelino [Kubitschek] took the first steps and the 1964 movement definitely consolidated the dominance of foreign capital in Brazil. It was against the dangers of exactly such a situation as we are experiencing today that the nationalists at the time of the second phase of the Vargas government warned the Brazilian nation. Even the military, for the most part, sided with such nationalist positions, as well as with their warnings.

But the strength of the U.S. economic advance throughout the West led to these voices being silenced, so that words such as "nationalism," "American imperialism," "Brazilian economic independence" and "greed of the trusts" fell into limbo, becoming merely the jargon of pamphleteering.

There is no longer any point in wanting to replace Veloso by Simonsen, Simonsen by Delfim, or Delfim by Roberto Campos or whoever it may be. The defect is not in today's man but in today's structure, a structure built throughout many years. No matter how well-managed the nation's domestic economy may be, in reference to the operation of its major institutions, we must forever feel the damaging effects brought about by the national extortion done at the sharpened knife-point of capital "without a country" and without any commitment to our domestic problems, the capital called multinational.

This is why traditional mechanisms of controlling inflation have no effect among us: simply because they were formulated for independent economic models, for developed nations, essentially and emphatically "nationalistic."

Brazil will soon be paying over \$11 billion just for petroleum, and will have to borrow that money abroad to pay this astronomical bill. And this because we founded our whole economy on a barrel of petroleum, even though we had an abundance of other energy sources, including coal, shale, hydro-electricity and even alcohol, a fuel strongly supported by the nationalists of the 1940's.

Notwithstanding, we preferred to erect a model according to the advantages of foreign capital. We preferred, although we are a continental nation, to establish interminable networks of highways that require gasoline, diesel fuel and asphalt products. Meanwhile, we failed to maintain our railways and waterways, much more rational and desirable for a nation with Brazil's peculiarities.

As if that were not enough, all industry converted to fuel oil, but not without the government first having taken care to make it available at a much lower price than that of alternative fuels, shifting the cost differentials onto the prices of other petroleum derivatives. And while we were digging an enormous abyss between the effective interests of the Brazilian nation and our socioeconomic model, we were filling the pockets of every foreign industry that came here, especially those most closely connected with the petroleum structure.

The possible irritation of some military men, if it does exist, thus comes about 30 years too late.

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## BRAZIL

### PLANNING MINISTER ANALYZES NATIONAL SITUATION

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 29 Apr 80 p 26

[Text] Minister of Planning Delfim Netto told the opening session of the 10th National Metallurgical Congress yesterday that a "true revolution is occurring in the Brazilian interior."

"Despite all of the liquidation of capital in the rural sector," the minister said, "the producers have responded with extraordinary vigor to the government's incentives and are blissing about the emergence of a new Brazil in the interior of Brazil, about which the city man knows little."

In the view of the minister, this new Brazil goes unperceived in the great metropolitan centers "where what arouses emotion is the fact that a small band of college students dressed like market agents went on strike with the money of others."

Delfim also said that the superharvest of more than 50 million tons of grain represents an avalanche of money into the hands of the plantation owners on the one hand, and the elimination of the sector of hunger or malnutrition on the other. He said that last year, for example, the farmers as a whole earned 55 billion cruzeiros for the soybean harvest, whereas this year they will receive 118 billion at a minimum.

"This response by the Brazilians living in the agricultural sector," he said, "means much more than the figures quoted here. It means efficiency in the functioning of government mechanisms, it represents confidence in the word of President Figueiredo and the actions of his government, it means participation by a substantial portion of the Brazilian population in the fate of our economy, it means competition."

Delfim went on to speak of the alcohol production program, stating that "not even the objectivist idiots" today doubt its "current and future" success.

"Vehicles are operating in the streets throughout Brazil, supply stations are being multiplied and the plants are succeeding in producing all the alcohol needed and even some surplus for export."

In addition to this, the planning minister said, "We cannot ignore the effect the billing of \$4 to 5 billion U.S. a year, which will inevitably be diverted from the Middle East to the Center-West, Northeast and South of Brazil, will have on the people in the interior of the country."

With a certain humor which caused laughter among the 800 businessmen present at the opening session of the 10th Brazilian Metallurgical Congress, Minister Delfim Netto responded to the criticisms made by businessman Johannpeter Gerdau and the secretary general of the Brazilian Iron and Steel Institute (IBS), Fred de Lacerda.

He said he was surprised by the "liberalism" of Gerdau.

"In principle, the government is as liberal as Gerdau, but no one is more liberal than an economist outside the government."

The minister acknowledged that the government has committed itself to working in the best way to correct the distortions of recent years. Immediately thereafter, returning to the picture painted by the secretary general of the IBS, he said:

"From the picture I see in the description by the secretary I note that, while accumulating losses, Brazil has succeeded in establishing the 12th-largest metallurgical sector in the world. Moreover, this has happened with coffee too."

As to the rigidity of the price policy, Delfim stressed that this is a problem which must be dealt with as soon as inflation is under control, which in his view will come about during the second half of this year.

Another point Delfim stated:

"I suddenly sense that society is fearful, without knowing exactly why."

To show that this fear has no basis, the minister listed four important facts: confirmation of a large harvest, the development of PROALCOOL [National Alcohol Program], the continuation of the major projects (Carajas, Itaipu, etc), and the success of the more open political approach "with the firm determination of President Figueiredo to respect the law."

"The projects being developed are giving rise to a country within the interior of the nation of which the rest of the people are unaware. Brazil is growing, but the growth is where it is not seen, far from the big-city drawing rooms."

The Minister's Speech

"Gentlemen:



I want to talk to you about some of the problems affecting Brazilian development. Sometimes nowadays I get the impression that suddenly society is fearful that 'things are not going to be all right.'

For this reason I would like to set forth here some simple facts which show that the development of Brazil is on the right path.

These facts are the following:

1. Confirmation of a farm superharvest, eliminating the specter of hunger and contributing to a resolution of the balance of payments and energy problems.
2. The satisfactory advance of the alcohol program. The fulfillment of the alcohol production and distribution goals is today a reality, with even the sporadic production of exportable surpluses.
3. Continuation of the major development projects upon which the government has embarked, giving rise (along with agricultural activity) to a new Brazil in the interior.
4. The undeniable success of the more open political approach and the adamant determination of President Figueiredo's government to ensure observance of the laws, the maximum guarantee of its democratic spirit.

#### 1. The Agricultural Surprise

First of all, I would therefore like to call your attention to the real revolution which is occurring in the interior of Brazil. In less than a year of this government, despite all of the disasters and all of the liquidation of capital in the rural sector, the producers have responded with extraordinary vigor to the government incentives and are causing a new Brazil to emerge in the interior, of which the citizen in the city is hardly aware.

This new Brazil, to which President Figueiredo gave his guarantee once again last Friday of full support throughout his term of office--this new Brazil is as yet unnoticed in the large metropolitan centers, where what causes emotion is the fact that a small band of college students dressed as market agents went on strike with the money of others.

These large farm harvests, the superharvests of more than 50 million tons of grain, represent on the one hand an avalanche of money in the hands of the plantation owners, and on the other, the elimination of the specter of hunger or malnutrition.

The figures are very significant:

Last year the farmers as a whole received 55 billion cruzeiros for the soybean harvest, while in 1980 they will be receiving 118 billion at a minimum.

Rice has yielded a harvest a little more than twice that of last year, increasing from 31 billion to 70.

Corn earned 32 billion cruzeiros last year. This year, the farmers who had faith in the government and planted corn will receive 77 billion cruzeiros, more than 2 1/2 times the earlier figure. Taking the 5 main products of the Center-South into account (soybeans, corn, rice, beans and cotton), the production value increased from 135 billion cruzeiros last year to 297 billion this year, a real increase in income of 50 percent.

Moreover, where state tax income is concerned, the results of the harvests for these products reveal the following in four of the federal states:

In Rio Grande do Sul, the ICM [tax on movement of merchandise] sums collected increased from 4.5 billion to 12.6 billion, i.e. a nominal increase of 177 percent.

In Goias, the increase was from 1.7 billion to 3.9 billion, or 132 percent growth in ICM collections for farm products alone.

The increase was less in Sao Paulo: 'only' 105 percent, with an increase from 2.4 billion to 5 billion cruzeiros.

The sum collected in Parana increased from 4.4 billion to 10.3 billion, representing an increase of 135 percent.

This response by the Brazilians living in the agricultural sector means much more than the figures quoted here indicate. It means efficiency in the functioning of the government mechanisms, faith in the word of President Figueiredo and the actions of his government, participation by an important part of the Brazilian population in the fate of our economy, and competition.

## 2. Alcohol Program

The alcohol production program was set in motion and today 'not even the objectivist idiots' doubt its present and future success. In fact, no country in the world even has a program for what we now have actually in operation as an energy substitute. The vehicles are functioning in the streets throughout Brazil, the supply stations are being multiplied and the plants have succeeded in producing all of the alcohol needed and even some surplus for export.

The doomsayers cried to the four winds that this was a program which could not be realized. And even when sober, they feared at a minimum for the fate of liquor production. But the program is there, now irreversible, and will be the Brazilian solution to its vast transportation needs, but this will not threaten either the supply of sugar or 'booze.'

What some persons do not want to understand is what the healthy part of Brazilian society came to understand during the oil crisis much more than the doomsayers did: in truth, they understood the challenge and made the decision to accept it. With this determination, I suspect that we are running the risk of enriching a number of Brazilian regions able to produce fuel alcohol, because we cannot overlook the effect that the billing of \$4 or 5 billion a year, which will be inevitably diverted from the Middle East to the Center-West, the Northeast and the South of Brazil, will have on the population in the interior of the country.

### 3. The Development Projects

The opening up of the new Carajas ore province, which will enable us to export goods worth \$10 billion a year, is a part of this new Brazil being born. In today's terms, this is the equivalent of the entire annual imports of oil. This is a project which is being carefully drafted by the Rio Doce Valley company, and it depends only on our determination, our ability to implement it beginning now, such as to make it produce within a few years.

The revolution which is occurring all along the western frontier thanks to the extraordinary investment in Itaipu is a part of this new Brazil. One need not have much imagination to understand that 12 billion kilowatts make some difference in Brazil's energy balance, and that the effect of this project will not be limited to the energy sector, but will in reality give definitive impetus to the development of vast areas both on the Brazilian and the Paraguayan side. All of the pioneer farm production effort in Mato Grosso, Rondonia, the northern and western parts of Goias, Para and the Amazon region is a part of this new Brazil. It is in these immense regions that the government is investing its resources, in roads, bridges, energy and credit for production.

In less than 12 months, a forest region in Rondonia applied to the government for support so as to be able to export 300,000 sacks of rice to neighboring Bolivia. And the Ministry of Agriculture, through the CIBRAZEM [Brazilian Warehousing Company], speedily put up a prefabricated warehouse to accommodate 70,000 sacks of rice and corn produced by the Xavante Indians in the Kuluene settlement, with Bank of Brazil financing.

This new Brazil, this revolution which is occurring in a real Brazil, frequently goes unnoticed by the populations in the large urban centers, who in the final analysis will be the main beneficiaries of this production, which is making a net addition to national income.

#### 4. The More Open Political Approach

The doomsayers (who basically yearn for the days of the 'economic miracle,' which in fact did not happen) cannot understand the almost supernatural phenomenon which has dominated the first year of the Figueiredo government--the success of the more open political policies pursued with adamant determination by the president, who has serenely dealt with all kinds of provocations, from the most stupid to the most insulting. Amnesty was granted in the broadest and most humane fashion. Those who wanted to come back and are living here without any type of constraint.

The only true type of constraint under which Brazilian society cannot live is violation of the laws. The government believes and practices to the maximum the principle that without strict fulfillment of the laws, there can be no enduring democracy, despite the effort of some with a feudal mentality who hoped for years to get around the law and who suddenly cannot accept that the government refuses to allow violation of the laws.

And it is within the law that we will continue to build this great nation, sometimes so misinformed about itself, in which the majority are working and setting production records, as happened with the steel production of the USIMINAS [Minas Gerais Iron and Steel Mills, Inc] last month, while the doomsayers continue to suffer their crises, the crises of the abyss from which in truth I believe their minds never escape, dominated by uncertainty, lack of faith, and the inability to understand the real country which we comprise."

#### Brazil Still a Poor Country

Although he admitted that a minimum wage of about 4,000 cruzeiros is not the ideal, Minister of Planning Delfim Netto told O GLOBO yesterday that everyone must understand that Brazil is a poor country, and that the minimum wage is the product of this poverty.

"The great truth is that the minimum wage is not a category because we begin from that, but will change in category, with a horizontal and vertical expansion. In addition, there are only a few who earn this minimum compensation."

The minister of planning also said that the demand of the metallurgical workers in the Sao Paulo ABC [Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul] industrial section with regard to job stability is an impossible demand to meet "because we cannot correct real wages and the employment level at the same time. Those who ask for both either do not know what they are asking or are asking the impossible."

As to the April inflation index, Delfim Netto said that it should come to a little over 5 percent. "We have some increases planned by the government itself and minor aggravations in the cost of living index."



## Interview

Minister of Planning Delfim Netto granted the following interview yesterday to Globo TV:

Globo TV: Although you have traveled to Europe, did you play a role in the strike of the metallurgical workers in the Sao Paulo ABC?

Delfim Netto: Not really. I am not a metallurgical worker, so that I had no role in the strike.

Globo TV: According to Senator Teotonio Vilela, you requested the military operation to contain the strike of the ABC metallurgical workers. It is thought that you intervened indirectly.

Delfim Netto: Our old senator continues to be vociferous but ill-informed. Really, I played no role in anything in the ABC, much less interfering indirectly. One of the strangest things in this country is that the opposition does not believe even what it can see.

Globo TV: You have achieved a superharvest. Your appeal was heeded, but prices continue to rise. Why?

Delfim Netto: In fact Brazil has produced a large harvest, the largest in its history. The agricultural sector responded to the incentives provided by the Figueiredo government, such as to produce a grain harvest of 52 million tons. It was not expected that prices would drop. What was hoped was that prices would increase at an ever lower rate and that is what will certainly occur when this harvest has been brought in. We must also understand that the farmers have asked for more reasonable prices after three successive years of frustration. One thing is certain: the effects of this large harvest will make themselves felt in the second half of this year.

Globo TV: Concerning the wage policy, do you support semi-annual or annual increases?

Delfim Netto: I believe that we have a law approved by the congress calling for semi-annual adjustments, such that all Brazilians should understand that this is a legal provision. Brazil is truly a curious democracy. It is a democracy in which the people only fulfill the law when it serves their interests, or only demand that it be fulfilled for the same reason. Thus the semi-annual adjustment is a legal provision and will be carried out by the government, and by the enterprises moreover, not only by the government, but by all of us. Certainly this will accelerate inflation a little, but even so this is not basic. There are truly somewhat exaggerated demands where the productivity index is concerned. There is a possibility for us

to improve the indicator through regionalization and there is a need for us to understand that the foreign oil price increase is a tax on Brazilian society and that we cannot adjust the compensation for all, neither capital or labor, using the effects produced by this tax. If we do so, inflation will continue.

Globo TV: There is a tax on financial operations (IOF) which is causing great discontent, mainly in the real estate sector. The businessmen say that the main difficulty is that the housing policy of the government will not be carried out.

Delfim Netto: I do not believe there is any difficulty. The truth is that no one wants to pay a tax. Taxes are disagreeable for all of us and all of us truly want to combat the inflation of others, but no one wants to combat his own. It is this precisely which makes the battle against inflation difficult. Each individual, when the slightest suggestion is made to him that he should cooperate too, immediately finds logical, legal, fiscal, tax and overwhelming reasons for saying that this is not how it's done, that he does not have to pay anything, and in the final analysis, will not cooperate in anything. Certainly there are some problems within the IOF legislation, and they will be corrected. Now it is entirely absurd to say that this will prevent the functioning of the real estate market.

Globo TV: What will be corrected?

Delfim Netto: Whatever corrections are necessary will be made. In particular, you cannot collect the IOF over very long-term operations, including interest and so on. We will analyze this too, but we must understand that this is a fact of life, a natural fact: no one wants to pay a tax.

Globo TV: Why does everyone suddenly think that everything is going badly in the Brazilian economy?

Delfim Netto: Brazil is a cyclothymic country. When I arrived in February we had an encouraging inflationary index and everyone believed that inflation had ended. Major projects were recommended, and no one would be squeezed any longer. In March, the index deteriorated and everyone saw that inflation was continuing. There is a lack of faith on the part of Brazilians in our capacity, the ability of all of us to direct this country, to lead this country with seriousness and determination, so that it will develop and be free as we all want. All of us want this, but we have all been intimidated and compromised with this fear that it is impossible. It is only impossible to the extent that society is fearful, that society fails to understand that it is in command, that it is not the facts which are in command, and when this happens we will see that Brazil is a viable country, a country in which development in freedom can be achieved.

Globo TV: When will inflation end?

Delfim Netto: Inflation will never end. Inflation is a process. Certainly it will slow down. This year a drop in the rate of inflation should be seen. It serves no purpose to say how much. I leave this to the mathematicians. In 1981 it will continue to drop, the same in 1982 and so on, until we return to tolerable inflationary indices, like those at the beginning of the 1970s.

Globo TV: Do you believe that inflation might increase?

Delfim Netto: No, I do not believe that inflation will continue to rise. We are taking all the steps we should take to bring it down, but it is necessary to allow some time before the remedy produces an effect. No one can imagine that there will be an instant response. It will take some months more, but inflation will certainly begin to slow down and then we will all see that Brazil is in fact a country which can be administered.

Globo TV: And if the rate does not go down?

Delfim Netto: There is not the slightest chance of that.

5157

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## BRAZIL

### PROSPECTS FOR TRADE WITH JAPAN CONSIDERED

#### Japanese Business Delegation

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Apr 80 p 56

[Article by Jorge Rosa: "Country to Welcome Large Japanese Delegation"]

[Text] Brasilia--The largest Japanese trade delegation ever sent abroad, including 120 businessmen, will visit Brazil in the month of July. Government circles in Brasilia are awaiting this visit with high hopes, not only because of the prospect that Japanese investments in Brazil will be expanded, particularly in the semi-finished ores sector, but also because of the possibility of an increase in the short run of Brazilian exports to the Japanese market. According to government technicians, Brazil plays a very minor role in Japan's imports, since out of a total for imports of \$7.3 billion U.S. in 1978, Brazil exported \$650 million, resulting in a deficit of almost \$600 million U.S.

Although the deficit balance for Brazil was reduced to \$200 million U.S. last year, the export volume came to less than \$900 million U.S., while imports totaled about \$1.1 billion. In talks with the Japanese businessmen, the Brazilian authorities will seek to negotiate the elimination of some tariff and non-tariff barriers which are still hindering the expansion of Brazilian exports to the Japanese market, as is the case with cut timber (except pine), on which the various taxes come to \$17.5 percent. In 1978, Japan imported cut timber worth \$468 million U.S., of which Brazil, which exported a total of \$22 million U.S. in that year, accounted for only \$124,000 U.S.

Apart from the possibility of expanded Japanese investments in Brazil, the government technicians believe that the visit by the Japanese trade mission will open up the prospect of doubling exports to that country in the short run. In the investments area, they explain that Japan is very interested in the processing of ores which will make possible savings in transportation and the use of energy on site, as is the case with the aluminum extracted from bauxite. Aluminum production requires a high volume of electrical energy, which is expensive in Japan.



In terms of the trade balance between the two countries, Brazil has accumulated deficits, although the technicians acknowledge that this situation might reverse rapidly, mainly if Brazilian exporters are more aggressive in winning Japanese markets.

#### Brazilian-Japanese Trade Balance

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Brazilian exports	425,222	556,717	671,946	639,248	684,664	650,368
Brazilian imports	492,150	1,093,293	1,105,194	871,868	844,342	1,242,124

A study made by the Brazilian embassy in Tokyo shows that 85.94 percent of Brazil's exports to Japan in 1978 were concentrated in 20 products, with iron ore accounting for 40.86 percent and coffee beans for 11.51 percent, followed by horse meat, accounting for 4.06 percent. However, even in connection with these products, Brazil has the potential to expand its exports to Japan. In the case of iron ore, Japan imported almost \$2 billion U.S. worth in all in 1978, with Brazil accounting for only \$265,727 U.S. Japan imported horse meat worth \$89 million U.S., of which Brazil accounted for only \$31 million. Japanese imports of coffee beans totaled about \$360 million U.S., with Brazil accounting for only \$74.8 million.

However, the government technicians believe that the most important thing is for Brazil to make an effort to expand its role in Japanese imports of new products, particularly in the agricultural category. Corn and soybeans, for example, for which Brazil has a great production potential, offer the best prospects. In 1978, Japanese imports totaled \$1.2 billion, and Brazil made no contribution. Soybean imports totaled \$1.1 billion U.S., with Brazil accounting for \$167 million.

Where frozen fish is concerned, although there is a general customs tariff of 10 percent, the Japanese market offers a strong potential for sales of Brazilian products. Brazil has been gaining ground in this market, but according to government technicians, its contribution to Japanese imports is still minor. In 1978, Japan imported fish worth \$650,875,000 U.S., with Brazil accounting for \$2.1 million. In 1976, Brazil's exports totaled \$11,505,000 U.S., and in 1977, \$112,000. Japanese imports of shrimp [pitos] and lobster came to almost \$1 billion U.S., but Brazil accounted for only \$19.5 million.

#### Fruits

The report of the Brazilian embassy analyzed the 225 main items on Japan's import schedule, accounting for 50 percent of the country's imports. Of these 225 products, Brazil played no role at all for 112, even excluding

oil and its byproducts, with the exception of gasoline for engines, of which Brazil exported a total worth \$138.5 million U.S. in 1978.

The government technicians said that there is a great potential for expansion in exports of fruits and other vegetable products, a category in which Japanese imports totaled \$3.1 million U.S. Of this total, imports from Brazil accounted for only \$81 million. Where bananas were concerned, for example, Japan imported a volume worth \$177 million U.S., and Brazil made no contribution.

Japan has imposed some limitations on the import of fresh fruits from Brazil because of the fear that these products might be contaminated by the Mediterranean fruit fly. However, the Ministry of Agriculture has already sent a Brazilian health technician to that country to study these restrictions, with a view to meeting the phytosanitary requirements. If this non-tariff barrier can be overcome, Brazil could sell some fresh fruits on the Japanese market, such as persimmons, which cost \$7 to \$8 each in Japan today.

The government technicians explained that the Japanese have shown a great concern about their heavy dependence on the United States where the import of foodstuffs is concerned. Of their imports of soybeans, corn and wheat, for example, 95 percent come from the United States.

#### Expanded Investments Contemplated

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 27 Apr 80 p 33

[Article by Anilde Werneck: "Japan Wants to Increase Investments in Brazil"]

[Text] Tokyo--There is not for the time being any intention on the part of major Japanese investors to halt investments in Brazil. On the contrary, they are interested in new projects, and Carajas appears to be the most attractive prospect for expanding the role played by Japanese businesses in undertakings in Brazil. This statement was made by Seiki Tozaki, president of the C. Itoh Group, one of the three largest in Japan, who will head a delegation of more than 100 businessmen scheduled to visit Brazil in July.

Tozaki said that he is aware that the Brazilian economy is experiencing difficulties, particularly because of inflation, which has worked as a factor to discourage investments. But he added that the potential in Brazil and the policy of seeking foreign cooperation adopted by the government justify the possible risks of further investments. This leader said further that the efforts of the Brazilian authorities to make the country less dependent on imports of oil, which will also contribute to reducing the deficits in its balances, are laudable.

The C. Itoh Group is satisfied with its investments in Brazil, and its president made particular mention of the CENIBRA and the reforestation projects in Espirito Santo as among the most important. He said that the CENIBRA has achieved a good state of development, and could now begin operations. For this reason, the Japanese enterprise is studying the possibility of investing in other sectors in Brazil.

Participating in the Carajas Project is not excluded, since the ALBRAS [Brazilian Aluminum Corporation, Inc] and ALUNORTE projects of the two governments are reaching a final stage. Tozaki said that the metallurgical sector in Japan, headed by Nippon Steel, is making a study of the situation in Carajas and that it is very probable that the undertaking will be expanded, to include an agroindustrial production complex as well, making use of the characteristics of the region. And in such a case, C. Itoh might also make its contribution in one of these sectors.

Tozaki said that the mission which will visit Brazil will be divided into sections, some concerning themselves with purchases and others with the study of the status of projects already underway and being implemented, as well as analysis of the possibility of new investments. The groups with their subheads will travel to various parts of Brazil, including the Amazon region. The subheads were appointed by the government and a team is already working on the organization of the tour, working closely with the Keidanren Japanese-Brazilian Commission on Economic Relations and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

This will be the sixth mission of businessmen Japan has sent abroad within the context of its new policy of seeking balanced trade with its main partner. Leadership of each delegation is entrusted to the president of one of the largest Japanese corporations, and this distinction has already been given to the president of Mitsui, Marubeni, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo. Since March of 1978, missions have been sent to the United States, Great Britain and Ireland, Thailand, the Benelux countries, and now Brazil and South Korea.

To date, the largest volume of purchases has been made by the delegation which visited the United States, with a total in the neighborhood of \$1 billion 900 million. But the group which will visit Brazil will contain the largest number of delegates, since more than 100 businessmen are expected.

Mr Seiki Tozaki said that the volume of purchases will depend on what Brazil has to offer and on what conditions. He said that the important thing, apart from quality and prices, is the possibility of regular and uninterrupted supply of the products offered. Japanese businessmen will seek not only raw materials, but semi-manufactured and manufactured goods as well.

The president of C. Itoh stressed that the task of the mission has been greatly facilitated by the Brazilian embassy in Tokyo, which drafted a

report setting forth the products Brazil might supply to Japan, and included in its import schedule. This report is being distributed to the members of the mission and will serve as a basis for their talks with Brazilian exporters.

Although enthusiastic about the importance of the visit and the results which may be obtained from it in the medium and long range, Seiki Tozaki acknowledges that Japan is having a difficult time where the sale of foreign purchases is concerned. During the 1979 fiscal year which ended last 31 March, Japan showed a deficit of almost \$13.5 billion, a record, as compared to a surplus, which was also a record, of more than \$14 billion the preceding year.

But even so, this businessman believes that the visit of the delegation will benefit both countries thanks to the possibility of developing new Brazilian export fronts, apart from what it may represent in terms of expanded Japanese investments.

Mr Tozaki views the situation of the Japanese economy in this fiscal year with concern, and the reason is the same as that underlying the difficulties in all other countries--energy. This businessman foresees a possible cooling of the Japanese economy in the period between July and September, since it has been spending almost half of the value of its annual exports--\$120 billion.

The government and the enterprises will restrict their expenditures, he said, such that the real rate of economic growth will be limited to between 3.5 and 4 percent.

But his projection also extends to the countries in the process of development, which, because of high oil prices, had a total debt of \$350 billion by the end of last year, which, added to the \$60 billion already accumulated, led them to a situation of near-bankruptcy. And he asked the question as to what would be the best solution--rescheduling of the debt or suspension of amortization? He also provides an answer--in both cases, a contribution would be made to instability of the international monetary market, making the recycling of the resources accumulated by the oil-producing countries difficult, which would have drastic effects on international financing.

In the case of Japan, Tozaki recalled that every effort is being made to overcome the energy crisis problem caused by the constant rise in oil prices and the constant decline in production and supply. And he said that the conservation program has been observed--there was a 5-percent reduction in consumption last year--while at the same time other types of energy sources are being developed. And even in the political area, Japan has sought to adopt such a cooperative attitude as to allow its good relations with Israel.

Seiki Tozaki believes that the accumulation of resources in the hands of the small group constituting the oil-producers' cartel--more than \$100 billion last year--is the only reason for the sacrifices being demanded of the countries in the process of development and the developed nations, with the resulting deterioration in the world economy.

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BAHIA TO PRODUCE OVER 3 TONS OF GOLD ANNUALLY BY 1982

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Apr 80 p 27

[Text] Salvador--Paulo Souto, Bahia mines and energy secretary, announced in Salvador yesterday that by 1982 the state will produce over 3 tons of gold a year, to put Bahia among Brazil's leading producers.

The leading producer in Bahia, according to the secretary, will be UNEGEO, a firm formed by Bozano Simonsen and an Anglo-American group, which will be producing 1 and 1/2 tons of gold by 1982. UNEGEO has the concession to develop the gold in the Jacobina mountain range, located 330 kilometers from Salvador in Jacobina municipality. Paulo Souto added that the company may double its production later.

Caraiba Metals, which intends to produce copper, will also produce gold, the annual potential of which may also reach 1 and 1/2 tons, just as will that of UNEGEO. The difference is that the Caraiba gold is of poorer quality, since it is a byproduct of copper, whereas the UNEGEO gold will be purer, according to Paulo Souto. DOCEGEO, another company involved in gold mining, is still prospecting and has made no determination of its possibilities.

Jacobina, where UNEGEO is building its gold-processing mill--which will be ready within 2 years--in the Morro do Vento mine, is one of the state's most traditional goldmining regions. Although there are still some prospectors panning for gold in the region, mining the ore on a commercial basis, which once had great importance in the regional economy, has practically ceased.

A few years ago, however, specialized companies in the sector obtained exploration rights not only in Jacobina but also in other parts of the state.

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SEVEN ROCKETS TO PUT TELECOMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE IN ORBIT

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Mar 80 p 8

[Text] Sao Jose dos Campos--Air Force Gen Hugo Oliveira Piva, director of the Space Activities Institute [IAE], announced yesterday that the vehicle which will launch the first Brazilian satellite will consist of seven rockets, of which four will be in the first stage and the other three distributed over the second, third and fourth stages.

"Of these seven rockets, five are the same as the first stage of Sonda IV and the others are special engines," explained General Piva. "At present, vibration tests are being made with Sonda IV rockets, charging them with various loads in order to analyze reactions to wind gusts or fuel irregularities following take-off."

The tests are being made in the shops and laboratories of the Brazilian Aeronautics Company (EMBRAER), which has sophisticated instruments for conducting aerospace projects and which, according to the Air Force general, will be able to lower the cost of the program, budgeted at \$600 million for the three complete launchings.

"If everything goes as we expect," he added, "the first Sonda IV firing will be made in the middle of 1982 and, what is more important, almost 100 percent of the rocket will be made from domestic materials."

According to the IAE director, who returned this week from the FRG, where he participated in a meeting between FRG and Brazilian experts in aerospace programs, the Brazilian domestic satellite "will probably be as much or more sophisticated than the American and European satellites now used by INPE [National Space Research Institute] for capturing spectral images."

Contrary to what has been reported, the Brazilian satellite will be a telecommunications space station. According to General Piva, once put into orbit it will have to be replaced annually. Although this is expensive, he believes the project is worthwhile in view of the services it will perform.

"It will primarily be an instrument intended to gather important informative data about the planet on which we live, but especially about Brazil. Some of its tasks include meteorology, hydrology, mineral resources, crop forecasts, forestry reconnaissance and even flood prediction."

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## **BRAZIL**

### **PRESS REPORTAGE ON RECENT OIL-RELATED ACTIVITIES**

#### **Increase in Oil Production**

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 26

[Text] PETROBRAS [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation] announced yesterday that domestic production of petroleum in the first quarter of 1980 was 16.7 million barrels, compared to 14.7 million barrels reported in the corresponding period of last year--an increase of 13.2 percent.

The offshore fields accounted for a total production of 6.5 million barrels, which represents a 60 percent increase over the figure for last year. Daily production for the quarter was 183,800 barrels as against 174,100 barrels last year, representing a 12 percent increase.

In the inland fields there was a 4.8 percent decrease in production, mainly because of the exhaustion of the Bahia deposits.

#### **Production in March**

Production in March was 5.5 million barrels, representing a 7.9 percent increase over the figure for the same month of last year. A total of 2.07 million barrels was obtained from the offshore fields, representing a 40.8 percent increase over March of last year.

In the inland basins, production in March totaled 3.4 million barrels--a reduction of 5.4 percent from the figure for the same period of last year.

Because of the work of maintaining and expanding the temporary systems at Garoupa and Enchova in the Campos basin, with the consequent interruption of the extraction of oil, there will be a decrease in domestic production during the month of April. Production will return to its normal levels in May, however, and more significant increases over the figures for 1979 production are expected.



### Bids From 35 Companies

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 26

[Text] As of 1900 hours yesterday (which was the deadline) a total of 35 bids had been transmitted to PETROBRAS for consideration in the fourth round of bidding on risk contracts. One of these bids was submitted by the Sao Paulo consortium PAULIPETRO, organized by the Technological Research Institute and the Sao Paulo Electric Company.

Lauro Vieira, superintendent of exploration contracts, said the number of bids received was greater than in any of the previous rounds, and that virtually all the 24 areas available on the continental shelf had elicited interest. The fourth round offered 123 areas, 99 of which were in the inland basins and 24 in the ocean.

#### Companies Involved

In addition to PAULIPETRO the following companies submitted bids: British Petroleum (British); Citco Exploration (American); ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France] Aquitaine (French); Esso (American); Continental Overseas (American); Hispanoil (Spanish); Hudbay (American); DEMINEX (German); Husky Oil (Canadian); Union Oil (American); and Brazil Petroleum Exploration (Japanese).

Lauro Vieira said that six bids were submitted in the first round of bidding, 28 in the second and 25 in the third. The 35 bids submitted as of yesterday will be opened today, and within 1 month the companies will begin to be summoned for the final negotiations. The superintendent said he did not believe any companies would be submitting late bids.

#### Diesel Oil Consumption Up

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 12 Apr 80 p 29

[Text] (Local bureaus)--PETROBRAS technical experts disclosed yesterday that domestic consumption of fuels continued in March the upward trend established in February, rising by 5 percent over the figure for the same month of last year. Diesel oil recorded the greatest increase (approximately 20 percent) of any single petroleum product.

Gasoline consumption, which had decreased by 4.6 percent in February, rose again in March--to a level approximately 1 percent above that of March 1979. The official figures will be published next Monday by the National Petroleum Council.

The continuing upward trend in the consumption of petroleum products (primarily of gasoline) indicates that the most recent price increase has

already been absorbed by the consumers, according to PETROBRAS technical experts who monitor the sector. Given the 15 percent decrease--during the first 2 months--in the consumption of gasoline mixed with anhydrous alcohol the government anticipated that this reduction would continue in March. Now, however, the PETROBRAS technical experts believe that only if consumer prices exert a new impact will it be possible to restrain once again the upward trend observed in March.

### Imports

The technical sectors of PETROBRAS are unaware of any intention on the part of the government to reduce oil imports by 40 percent--an action said to be under consideration by the Ministry of Planning with the object of reducing the nation's foreign exchange expenditures, particularly in view of the renewed price increases on the part of the producer countries of the Middle East.

A highly placed source in PETROBRAS said that if such a decision were taken the company would have to inform its suppliers that the supply would be reduced pursuant to a governmental decision at the highest level. Although the reduction in purchases would have to be accepted by the producer countries regardless of existing contracts, over the long term this measure would produce negative results because if our country decided to reactivate its imports it would certainly encounter difficulties in reestablishing the present level of purchases from the supplier countries.

At the present time (according to the same source) PETROBRAS enjoys a "comfortable" position with respect to its stocks of crude oil (90 million barrels), which are sufficient to meet domestic requirements for 90 consecutive days. This situation would also enable the nation to reduce the economic impact of probable reductions in the supply of oil by the producer countries, particularly if the Iranian crisis worsens in the face of a prospective confrontation with Iraq.

### Price Policy

Formulation of a policy on prices for petroleum products--notably diesel oil and fuel oils--is a question that will be studied by the National Energy Commission, which is attempting to accelerate the project for effecting the substitution of coal for fuel oil. Studies have even been made with a view to gradually increasing the price of fuel oil so as to make coal more attractive. This increase would be applied with great caution, however, to prevent it from being passed on to the consumers by the petroleum industry, thereby stimulating inflation.

Vice President Aureliano Chaves, chairman of the National Energy Commission, will travel tomorrow to Santa Catarina to visit the coal bearing region of Criciuma and confer with managers of coal companies in that state. Accompanied by Governor Bouhausen, Aureliano will visit several coal mines and will also be introduced to entrepreneurs of other sectors of the economy.

## Foreign Exchange Outflow

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 10 Apr 80 p 36

[Text] To make up the difference of \$6 per barrel between the price of imported petroleum and the price used as the basis of the price structure for petroleum products sold on the domestic market the government has already been compelled to spend 27.8 billion cruzeiros (278 million cruzeiros per day), which increases the money supply and intensifies the inflation it is attempting to combat.

This information was supplied yesterday by a high PETROBRAS source, who added that this policy is being carried out because the government does not wish to increase fuel prices to a level sufficient to compensate fully for the price of the imported crude. The PETROBRAS technical experts calculate that only a new readjustment of 30 percent in the prices for petroleum products will enable the price of the imported oil to be fully compensated.

PETROBRAS' marketing experts have disclosed that the nation is paying an average of \$28 per barrel for imported petroleum. Within the domestic price structure, however, the same barrel of oil carries a price fixed at \$22, because otherwise the prices for petroleum products would inevitably have to undergo readjustment.

### More Inflation

Inasmuch as Brazilian petroleum imports total approximately 960,000 barrels per day, the difference (in terms of foreign exchange) of \$6 per barrel defrayed by the government represents a daily expenditure of 278 million cruzeiros, equivalent to \$5.76 million. These funds are credited by the National Treasury to the existing petroleum account in the Central Bank for the purpose of generating the cruzeiros needed to purchase the foreign exchange to pay for the petroleum imports.

According to the PETROBRAS experts this is a clearly inflationary policy, supposedly designed to prevent a new rise in the prices for petroleum products.

### Repercussions of Price Rise

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 9 Apr 80 p 31

[Text] Carlos Sant'Anna, director of marketing of PETROBRAS, said yesterday that the new rise in the prices for petroleum on the international market (a move initiated by Kuwait and Iran) could disrupt all estimates made to date with respect to the expenditures the nation will have during the remainder of the year.

Sant'Anna said that PETROBRAS will not just simply accept these increases but will instead discuss with the producers the possibility of reducing the levels proposed.

#### Difficulty

Kuwait supplies Brazil with 80,000 barrels per day of petroleum, whereas Iran sells us only 60,000 barrels per day. Carlos Sant'Anna believes the major threat to Brazil's balance of payments is a possible expansion of the upward trend in prices.

If this occurs, Saudi Arabia--whose price for petroleum is the lowest among all the OPEC countries--will ultimately be pressured together with Iraq. A 10 percent increase (an optimistic estimate) will mean for Brazil an additional expenditure of \$1 billion.

The PETROBRAS director said that 4 months ago it was estimated that Brazilian oil imports could close out the year with a total of less than \$10 billion. "Today," he said, "everything has become an unknown quantity."

#### Risk Contracts

In the course of the discussion of risk contracts held yesterday at the Engineering Club, Remo Manarino, PETROBRAS' assistant superintendent of exploration contracts, said that in the event petroleum is discovered production would be the exclusive province of PETROBRAS.

Manarino's statement--which he subsequently repeated and Superintendent Lauro Vieira (who also took part in the discussion) confirmed--rules out the possibility that foreign companies will participate in the production process. Their participation had been anticipated in a memorandum transmitted to PETROBRAS early this year by Minister of Mines and Energy Cesar Cals.

Superintendent of Exploration Contracts Lauro Vieira said that the difficulty of finding oil in Brazil is an established fact. "It serves no purpose," he said, "to go around proclaiming to the four winds that we have petroleum. It is well to point this out, so that we may understand how the risk contracts function."

Assistant Superintendent Remo Manarino reported on the surveys carried out by PETROBRAS on the continental shelf and discussed in detail the types of exploration contracts that are today being adopted throughout the world. The engineer insisted that the type of risk contract established in Brazil is sufficiently flexible but does preserve the national sovereignty over any oil that is discovered.



## ELF Signs

PETROBRAS yesterday signed--with the French company ELF Aquitaine--its 50th risk contract, which provides for the exploration of a bloc of 2,825 square kilometers in the Santos basin 90 kilometers from Rio.

Hari Bhat, general manager of ELF, said the interest in the Santos basin derives from surveys that show this area to contain geological formations similar to those of the Campos basin.

## Discovery Well in Ceara

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 19 Apr 80 p 19

[Text] PETROBRAS announced yesterday that petroleum had been discovered at Aracati, Ceara, in a geologic area extending as far as Mossoro in Rio Grande do Norte. Although preliminary estimates have indicated a production of only 17 barrels per day the well will probably be developed commercially, in accordance with PETROBRAS' policy of exploiting small pools.

According to the experts, the petroleum at Aracati is contained in a geologic structure that requires little investment. In addition to being located in an inland basin of easy access, the holes are relatively shallow--never more than 500 meters in depth. In view of the existence of other oil bearing formations already identified in the direction of Rio Grande do Norte, PETROBRAS will drill an additional 30 wells in the two states before the end of the year.

## Discovery

This is the first time that PETROBRAS has discovered oil in the Ceara inland basin (there are two fields being developed in the coastal region). The surveys that led to this discovery were based on the results obtained at Mossoro, where two wells have been producing since last year--one 18 barrels per day and the other 42.

The well at Aracati--named Fazenda Belem-1--struck oil at a depth of 388 to 394 meters, with the hole reaching a depth of 446 meters. PETROBRAS is currently making the final evaluations, and is providing pumping equipment to put the well into production. As in the case of the petroleum obtained from the two Mossoro wells, the production at Aracati will be transported by truck to the Fortaleza Asphalt Plant, which also functions as a small refinery.

Considered as a whole, the Mossoro inland basin will soon be producing a total of 77 barrels per day. At the current average of 26 barrels per day per well (computed on the basis of the three wells drilled to date), the 30 wells projected by PETROBRAS will be able to attain a total production of 780 barrels per day. This would represent a saving in foreign exchange of approximately \$23,000 per day, \$702,000 per month and \$8.4 million per year.

## Petroleum Products Consumption Up

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 15 Apr 80 p 22

[Text] Consumption of petroleum products recorded a 6 percent increase in March of this year over the figure for the same period of 1979, while the estimated total volume of alcohol added to gasoline was 5,755 cubic meters (36,200 barrels per day), representing 13.5 percent of the total demand for gasoline (gasoline with alcohol added).

According to the PETROBRAS data with respect to observable national consumption in the month of March 1980--and in the period comprising the past 12 months--the figures for the average daily consumption of the principal petroleum products were respectively: diesel oil, 48,200 and 48,600 cubic meters; gasoline (A plus B plus alcohol), 42,600 and 42,000 cubic meters; fuel oil (A plus B plus E), 39,600 and 43,300 cubic meters; LPG, 13,400 and 12,900 cubic meters; naphtha for petrochemicals, 9,800 and 9,300 cubic meters; fuel oil (D), 6,600 and 7,600 cubic meters; kerosene for jet engines, 6,500 and 5,800 cubic meters; asphalt, 3,200 and 3,200 cubic meters; and naphtha for gas generation, 1,100 and 1,000 cubic meters.

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## BRAZIL

### FUEL ALCOHOL PRODUCTION PROGRAM PROGRESS ANALYZED

#### Foreign Capital Invested

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Apr 80 p 54

[Text] Brasilia--Foreign participation in the National Alcohol Program (PROALCOOL) to date has been significant in only one project, the distillery being built in Pirapora, Minas Gerais, by the Mining and Agroindustry Enterprise, S.A., with a production capacity of 30,000 liters of alcohol per day, using cassava as the raw material.

Brazilian businessman Fernando Melo Vianna is the main stockholder in the business, which has "minority stockholdings (49 percent) by foreign natural persons domiciled in Brazil," according to information obtained from the executive secretary of the National Alcohol Commission (CENAL), Marcos de Paula Fernandes.

He also said that there is an alcohol distillery in Sao Paulo with "minimal stockholdings, between 2 and 3 percent, by foreigners" and that the CENAL is studying a proposed distillery which could produce 120,000 liters of alcohol from sugarcane per day in the state of Bahia, with planned stockholdings by foreign enterprises of 49 percent.

The distilleries in existence prior to the establishment of the PROALCOOL, plus those which were built after the program was implemented or which are now being built, in addition to the projects already approved by the CENAL, come to 273, with a nominal production capacity of 6.7 billion liters of alcohol per harvest year. In other words, this is the estimated capacity for the equipment of all of the distilleries.

The discussion about the participation of foreigners in PROALCOOL is not new, but has been revived by the statements in recent weeks by the vice president of the republic, Aureliano Chaves, who is president of the National Energy Commission, and Gen Antonio Carlos de Andrada Serpa, who oppose such participation. Because of his statements, the general was relieved of his post as the head of the general personnel department of the army.

Currently, the National Alcohol Council, the highest PROALCOOL coordinating body, has only one established position on foreign participation, endorsed by the Economic Development Council, to the effect that there is nothing to prevent natural or juridical persons located abroad from holding up to 49 percent of the stock in the industrial portion of the distilleries enjoying the benefits of government financing.

The CENAL gives assurance that the government will not under any circumstances grant government financing to foreigners establishing distillery projects alone, but there is no official position as to the possibility of a foreigner establishing projects and covering all the costs with his own resources. It is argued that this position has not yet been made firm, because no specific proposal has been made.

But the executive secretary of the CENAL, Marcos Fernandes, says that the development of a distillery by foreign groups even with their own resources is a situation different from projects in various other government sectors. According to him, alcohol production today is a government concession to the businessmen, and since this is the case, the foreigner cannot simply come to this country and establish a distillery with his own money without government authorization.

Various domestic business sectors, study and research centers, and even representatives of government bodies have criticized foreign participation in PROALCOOL on the basis of various arguments. There are those who also defend the participation of state enterprises in the productive sector, even as a way of keeping production out of the hands of foreigners, in the event that domestic private enterprises are not capable of achieving the established goals.

Minister of Industry and Commerce Joao Camilo Penna has already said that in his view, alcohol production should be entrusted to domestic private enterprises, but if they cannot meet the goals, the participation either of foreigners on a larger scale or of government enterprises could be studied.

When a foreign partner embarks on a distillery project, even up to the 49 percent limit, he can count on government financing, since this financing is granted to the project as a whole, and not to each stockholder individually. And the critics argue that the financing of PROALCOOL is subsidized.

Within the industrial sector of the PROALCOOL, financing is available for aspects ranging from civil construction, machinery, equipment, assembly and installation to furnishings, tools, training costs and financial commitments during the construction period, among other things. Up to 80 percent of the fixed investments for distilleries using sugarcane as a raw material is financed, and up to 90 percent for those producing alcohol from other raw materials, such as cassava, sorghum, etc.



The financial costs for all the projects include a monetary adjustment corresponding to 40 percent of the annual variation for the Adjustable National Treasury Bonds (ORTNS), plus interest of 2 to 6 percent per year, depending on the type of distillery and the raw material used, and its regional location.

### Substitute for Diesel Fuel

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 30 Apr 80 p 28

[Text] "Alcohol can also replace diesel fuel," the secretary of industry, commerce, science and technology, Osvaldo Palma, said yesterday, while announcing that the federal government has given the "green light" to the USP [Sao Paulo University] Technological Research Institute (IPT) to begin production of the additive dinitrate triethylene glycol.

This additive, the production of which was authorized yesterday by the president of the National Energy Commission, Aureliano Chaves, if mixed with alcohol in a 5-percent proportion, can replace diesel oil as a fuel for traditional engines. Palma also said that on Monday he will announce the names of the enterprises to which PAULIPETRO has given subcontracts, and he reiterated that drilling will be begun on 11 May in Piratininga, in the Bauru region. "We will work toward two basic goals. The first will be to obtain gas or oil, and the second to survey the minerological potential of the Parana Basin," the secretary added.

Speaking to the Sao Paulo State Agricultural Federation (FAESP), while presiding at the ceremony to establish the PROALCOOL Executive Development Group in Sao Paulo (GEDEPA), Palma voiced his enthusiasm about the "opening up of a broad market for farmers, now that alcohol can also replace diesel fuel." He said that the PROALCOOL goals (10.7 billion liters in 1985) will have to be revised because Brazil is currently consuming 15 billion liters of gasoline and 16 billion liters of diesel oil annually.

"If all the resources we have were used to produce alcohol--sugarcane, sorghum, cassava, etc--we could easily reach 30 billion liters by 1985," he added. He said that for a diesel engine to utilize alcohol plus the additive, minor modifications in the fuel injection nozzle would also be needed. "But this costs very little" and "dinitrate is obtained from alcohol itself," he added.

Speaking to about 100 representatives of the rural workers' unions in the FAESP, Palma said that there are 154,000 square kilometers of arable land in the state of Sao Paulo, of which 54,000 are being used for extensive livestock breeding. Thus the GEDEPA plans call for the utilization of 12,000 square kilometers (22 percent) of this rural area to plant sugarcane for the production of alcohol. The livestock breeders themselves will provide a part of the land for the planting of sugarcane, and will thus be participating in the alcohol production project. Along with this, part of the

refuse from the distillation process will be used to fertilize pastureland in the remaining area, such as to augment its capacity.

The program of miniplants, according to Palma, will be limited to areas to which access is difficult, since the greater part of the alcohol production in the state will come from large autonomous distilleries.

#### IBRD Financing

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 Apr 80 p 27

[Text] Brasilia--The IBRD may annually provide up to \$250 million U.S.--about 12 billion cruzeiros, at the present exchange rate--in the years to come to finance the development of the National Alcohol Program, according to information obtained from financial circles in Brasilia.

According to the report, IBRD representatives have been holding various talks recently with government leaders involved in coordination of the PROALCOOL, and they regard the allocation of financing for this program, in view of its advanced stage of development, as quite possible.

Recently, the IBRD sent a report drafted by one of its teams to the Brazilian government, voicing praise of the PROALCOOL and stressing its importance as an alternative energy source. The report even said that Brazil, with the PROALCOOL, is the most advanced country in the world in the realm of replacing energy derived from oil.

According to government estimates, financing of about \$4 billion U.S. will be needed to achieve the production goal of 10.7 billion liters of alcohol by 1985. Almost half of these resources are covered by the sums to be collected from the Energy Mobilization Fund.

#### Sales to Japan

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 5 May 80 p 17

[Text] Brasilia--PETROBRAS [Brazilian Petroleum Corporation], through INTERBRAS [PETROBRAS International Trade, Inc], has contracted to sell 120 million liters of hydrated alcohol to Japan, to be delivered up to May of next year. This year 6 million liters were exported to the United States, and the enterprise is concluding a sale of another 2.7 million liters to the United Kingdom.

According to PETROBRAS, the average export price is \$60 U.S. per barrel, double the average price for the oil Brazil imports, which is currently running about \$30 U.S. per barrel. It was also reported that various other countries, including Argentina, Spain, England and Ceylon, have also indicated interest in purchasing hydrated alcohol from Brazil.

The export price of hydrated alcohol is regarded as fully compensated, by some government sources, since at this price level, a liter of alcohol (a barrel contains 159 liters) is being exported at 18.80 cruzeiros per liter, while it is sold to the domestic consumer at 11.40 per liter.

The government source announced that PETROBRAS has been authorized by the National Petroleum Council (CNP) to step up alcohol exports, because the automobile industry is not producing the expected number of vehicles utilizing alcohol, such that there is a surplus of the product in the storage facilities.

The protocol signed by the automobile industry and the government last year called for the production of 250,000 new vehicles using alcohol by the end of this year, while during the first half of the year alone about 100,000 were to be put on the market. However, only about 7,000 new vehicles have been produced to date. The delay in the production of vehicles using alcohol up to the end of March was aggravated by the strike of the metallurgical workers in the Sao Paulo ABC [San Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul] industrial sectors, which have kept the factories almost paralyzed since the beginning of April.

Because of these problems, according to our source, the government has no choice but to export a part of the hydrated alcohol.

#### Ethyl Alcohol Goal

Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 23 Apr 80 p 23

[Text] Minister of Mines and Energy Cesar Cals acknowledged yesterday at a speech to the Energy 80 Seminar that "it will not be possible to achieve the production goal of 125,000 barrels oil equivalent of ethyl alcohol from wood, through the reforestation of 800,000 hectares by 1985, because the fiscal incentive resources are already committed to other programs."

At that same seminar, however, Osvaldo Palma, secretary of industry, commerce, science and technology for Sao Paulo, expressed the view that the production goal of 10.7 billion liters of alcohol "is very timid," and he stated that the country can produce 30 billion liters, of which Sao Paulo would contribute 15. To this end he proposed that the pine and eucalyptus forests which have already been planted in Sao Paulo, Mato Grosso, Goias and other states for the production of cellulose be utilized.

"Prices are very low today on the international cellulose market," Osvaldo Palma said. "Therefore it is necessary to provide for other uses of this wood, some of which is already at the cutting stage," he added. The change he proposes is toward the production of alcohol and charcoal. As to the resources needed, he said that the income tax incentive, which for the moment has been suspended, is sufficient. But according to the Sao Paulo secretary, the government decision about the use of this wood

"must be made now," in order to provide the time needed for replanting. It takes eucalyptus 6 to 7 years on an average to reach the cutting stage, while it takes pine 8 years. Osvaldo Palma also defended the building of a carbochemical plant in the southern part of the country and an alcohol chemical complex in the North.

In announcing the government's goal of producing 1 billion oil equivalent barrels by 1985, Minister Cesar Cals said that the estimated consumption for that year is 1,000,700,000 barrels per day, of which it is hoped that 200,000 can be saved by energy conservation measures. Thus the extent of dependence on imported oil would be only 500,000 barrels per day. The investments needed to reach this level would be \$50 billion by 1985. "To achieve this we need the involvement of private enterprise," the minister said, "with a clearly defined price policy to give investors confidence."

During the discussion, Minister Cesar Cals confirmed that PETROBRAS "continues to have the oil monopoly," in answer to a question from Ambassador Roberto Campos, technical coordinator for the seminar. The ambassador said that deputies with whom he talked in Brazil, "perhaps motivated by federalist sentiments," are proposing that PETROBRAS now choose the areas in which it wants to function, leaving the balance to be executed on a risk-contract basis, the concessionary power for the remaining areas, where the potentially productive sectors are located, being the state. The minister would only confirm that PETROBRAS continues to hold the monopoly.

Almost all of the afternoon session at the energy seminar was devoted to discussions of coal, with addresses being delivered by industrialists Alvaro Catao and Augusto Batista Pereira, followed by debate. Alvaro Catao asked that the subsidy for fuel oil be withdrawn to encourage the substitution of coal for these oil derivatives, and he expressed regret that "in the battle against inflation, the prices set for coal are burdensome." He said it is indispensable that a national energy price policy be established, "because there are coal producers operating in the red, with deficits of about 25 million cruzeiros per month." They are producers "who believe in the appeals of the government," he said.

Augusto Pereira gave assurance that "with the limited incentives provided for coal, it is probable that the scheduled production will not be achieved as planned," and he urged that the federal government clearly define a coal policy. During the discussions, engineer Roberto Reis of the FINEP [Funding Authority for Studies and Projects] proposed that the expansion of coal production be effected by associating state enterprises with domestic private capital, because "the state enterprises are the only domestic ones with the capacity to finance the planned expansion."



## Investment in Mato Grosso

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 5 Apr 80 p 14

[Text] Cuiaba--About 21 billion cruzeiros will be invested by the PROALCOOL in Mato Grosso, the secretary of industry, commerce and tourism for the state, Ivo Cuiabano Scafe, announced yesterday. Directors and technicians of BRASALCOOL will visit Cuiaba on Wednesday, he said, to establish the areas in which 20 plants which will produce 240,000 liters of alcohol per day will be built.

According to the secretary, the resources for the development of the state program will be provided by PROALCOOL, the BNDE [National Economic Development Bank], and PETROBRAS, through the IBRASA and PETROQUISA [PETROBRAS Chemical Corporation], respectively. Out of the total resources, 7,962,820,000 cruzeiros will be invested in alcohol production, and 13,596,480,000 in the industrial processing of the product.

## Effect on Gasoline Consumption

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 5 Apr 80 p 13

[Text] Sao Paulo--The demand for gasoline in Brazil will remain stable between 1980 and 1985 because the production of ethyl alcohol will be sufficient to meet the increase in demand caused by the addition of new vehicles to the fleet in circulation.

This statement was made at the last session of the Higher Council for Alternative and Substitute Energy Sources of the State Industry and Commerce Secretariat. Its technicians further expressed the view that "it is undesirable to force the immediate replacement of diesel oil by an alternative fuel such as alcohol, since better use can be made of it as a substitute for gasoline."

The council concluded that in the next 5 years the consumption of fuel by trucks and buses will increase "inevitably, mainly due to the freight and passenger transport demand."

On the basis of this study, the producers of diesel engines participating in the meeting suggested the alteration, in the short term, of the present cracking system, in order to increase the available supply of diesel oil and to obtain larger quantities of the intermediate oil fractions.

According to the figures presented, a barrel of oil can yield 24 percent gasoline and 28 percent diesel oil, "quantities which could be changed by modification of the cracking systems at the refineries." With investments in this sector, the members of the council estimate that by 1985 16 percent gasoline and 36 percent diesel oil could be obtained from a barrel of oil.

Despite these figures and the certainty of the diesel oil supply in the coming years, the manufacturers believe it is essential to pursue research on alternatives to this fuel, and they advise the use of alcohol with additives for conventional engines, arguing that their technical yield "is not exceeded by any other known type of engine."

The substitution of an Otto cycle engine optimized for the use of alcohol for the diesel engine of a light truck was regarded by the manufacturers as "disadvantageous from the energy viewpoint, because it would entail a greater overall consumption of fuel." According to the study by the group, "the greater efficiency of the diesel engine as compared to an Otto cycle engine optimized for the use of ethyl alcohol fully compensates for the slightly higher price of the alcohol with an additive."

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## COLOMBIA

### PAPER PUBLISHES AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CHARGES

Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 27 Apr 80 p 12-D, 13-D, 14-D

[Text] Recommendations to the Colombian Government of an Amnesty International Mission to the Republic of Colombia (15-31 January 1980)

#### Explanatory Statement

We have obtained an Amnesty International report on the deplorable human rights situation in our sister Republic of Colombia. Colombian President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala branded the report subversive, even though it contains the testimony of thousands of people who have been tortured and repressed.

We would clarify that some lines of the report have been replaced by suspension points because they are not altogether legible in the original text.

#### Introduction

An Amnesty International mission visited Colombia from 15 to 31 January 1980. It was the first Amnesty International mission to the country, although it had previously been in communication with Colombia and maintained official contacts with authorities regarding the ratification of international human rights agreements.

The delegation consisted of Antonio Carretero, a magistrate and professor of law in Madrid, Spain; Federico Allodi, a psychiatrist and member of the Canadian Medical Group of Amnesty International in Toronto, Canada, and Edmundo Garcia, from the International Secretariat of Amnesty International in London.

#### Basic Principles of Amnesty International

Amnesty International is a worldwide pro-human rights movement, independent of any government, political party, ideology, economic interest or religious creed. It works for the release of men and

women who have been imprisoned anywhere in the world for their convictions, color, ethnic origin, sex, language or religion, as long as they have not resorted to or advocated violence.

Amnesty International advocates just and impartial trials for all political prisoners and works to defend persons detained or brought to trial without charges. It is opposed to the death penalty and to torture and, in all cases and without exception, to any other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Amnesty International has been deeply concerned about reports of mass political arrests, torture and military trials of civilians in Colombia, particularly since the nationwide civic work stoppage on 14 September 1977. Such reports multiplied in 1979 after the enactment of the Security Statute (Decree 1923 of 6 September 1978), based on martial law.

During a press conference in London in July 1979, President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala invited Amnesty International observers to Colombia. Given its concern over continuing reports pointing to intensified human rights violations in Colombia, Amnesty International accepted his invitation.

#### Objectives of the Mission

One of the mission's objectives was to investigate how human rights were actually being safeguarded in a situation in which a series of emergency measures have been implemented. The emergency measures basically include martial law, the recent Security Statute and a number of decrees that broaden the jurisdiction of the military over the administration of justice.

Amnesty International was concerned about the serious threat to human rights posed by a prolonged state of emergency under which the fundamental rights of citizens are suspended.

Before and during the mission, Amnesty International received information on numerous arrests pursuant to Article 28 of the constitution, which empowers the government to hold persons for up to 10 days without formal charges. Such arrests increased starting in January 1979, when the military undertook, in its own words, "the largest operation carried out by military forces against subversion in the country." Arrests were reportedly being made in violation of legal requirements, and detainees were being kept incommunicado without legal aid for periods longer than the law allows. Concerned about these mounting claims of political detentions, the mission also wanted to directly investigate the repeated charges that torture and political assassination were systematically being employed, especially in militarized zones and on Indian reservations.



Amnesty International was, moreover, particularly concerned about the alleged arrests of prisoners of conscience among labor leaders, peasant farmer and Indian leaders, attorneys, doctors, newsmen, and members of political parties and social movements, a good number of whom had been arrested and had waited for months for a military court trial. In this context, Amnesty International was also interested in investigating the actual safeguards for the rights of individuals charged with crimes that could be regarded as political to a proper defense before independent and impartial courts.

#### Mission Program: Government Authorities

During their stay in Colombia the Amnesty International delegates met with the president of the republic, Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala; the minister of government, German Zea Hernandez; the minister of foreign relations, Diego Uribe Vargas; the minister of defense, Gen Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva; the minister of justice, Hugo Escobar Sierra, and the nation's attorney general, Guillermo Gonzalez Cherry.

Among the military authorities who received the Amnesty International delegates were the then commander of the Brigade of Military Institutes, Gen Miguel Vega Uribe, and the officers in charge of the Artillery School in Bogota and the Pichincha Battalion in Cali (Military Zone No 3). The delegates also met with Col Elkin Carmona Lopez, who during the Amnesty International visit was director of prisons. They also had the opportunity to speak with all of the directors of the jails that they visited.

They held meetings with the then chief justice of the Supreme Court, Jose Maria Eguerra, and with four other Supreme Court magistrates. In addition, the delegates met with former President Carlos Lleras Restrepo, a number of cabinet ministers under former administrations, several members of Congress and two departmental governors.

#### Political Prisoners and Human Rights Committees

Amnesty International visited a total of 11 jails in 7 cities: La Picota, La Modelo and El Buen Pastor in Bogota; Villanueva and Buen Pastor in Cali; Bellavista in Medellin; Modelo and Buen Pastor in Bucaramanga; El Barne in Tunja; the judicial jail in Buga and the judicial jail in Santander de Quilichao.

The Amnesty International delegates also visited two military installations being used as jails (the Artillery School in Bogota and the Pichincha Battalion in Cali) and two hospitals (the Military Hospital and San Juan de Dios Hospital in Bogota). The mission interviewed more than 400 individuals who were reported to be political prisoners.

Among the human rights groups with which the delegates made contact are the Standing Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, organized after the March 1979 National Forum for the Defense of Human Rights; the Committee of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and the Committee of Relatives of Political Prisoners.

#### Political Parties and Professional Associations

The Amnesty International delegation met with members of the traditional parties, the Liberal and Conservative parties, and also with members of opposition political parties and the main socio-political movements. Meetings were held with members and leaders of medical associations such as the Colombian Medical Union Association (ASMEDAS) in Bogota, the Medical Association of Del Valle (ASOMEVA) in Cali, the Medical Association of Antioquia (ADMA) in Medellin, the Medical Federation of Colombia, the Academy of Medicine and the Neurological Society of Colombia.

The delegates also met with attorneys associations, such as the Association of Democratic Jurists, which defends political prisoners.

They also met with an organization of judges and employees of the Judiciary, with a former director of the Institute of Forensic Medicine and with a doctor who is a member of the institute.

Meetings were also organized with Christian groups, including priests, nuns and two bishops. The delegates spoke with scholars, university students and members of institutions doing research work in the social and legal sciences.

#### Labor Leaders, Peasant Farmers and Indians

The Amnesty International delegation received statements from the National Union Council on detentions of labor leaders and violations of union rights. The council is made up of four major union organizations (the CTC [Confederation of Workers of Colombia]; the UTC [Colombia Workers Union]; the CGT [General Labor Confederation] and the CUTC [Colombian Workers Trade Union Confederation]), as well as more than 30 independent unions in Bogota, Cali, Medellin, Bucaramanga and Barrancabermeja.

Furthermore, the Amnesty International delegation met with members of the National Association of Consumer Peasants (ANUC) and with peasants who lived and were detained in various militarized rural areas. A member of the delegation traveled to the Botaco district in the municipality of the same name, in Del Valle Department, to talk with members of the peasant community.

In addition, the Amnesty International delegation met with the Indigenous Regional Council of the Cauca (CRIC) in Popayan, from which it received direct testimony of torture against Indians who were arrested in the Cauca region. The commission also visited an Indian reservation in the mountainous El Canelo region. The delegates spoke with members of the community who had been arrested for political reasons or pursuant to charges relating to the problem of recovering lands belonging to Indian reservations protected by the constitution of Colombia. They also spoke with Indian organization leaders being held in the Picota jail in Bogota, Villanueva in Cali and the Santander de Quilichao jail.

#### **General Observations: Political Prisoners, Human Rights and Violence**

The Amnesty International visit took place amid a nationwide political debate on the issue of human rights.

During its visit the Amnesty International Delegation put it clearly on record that it acknowledged the troublesome public order problems that the Colombian Government has been faced with, in particular, problems caused by the violent activities of armed groups or revolutionary movements. However, we can clearly gather from the investigation undertaken by the mission that there are political prisoners in Colombia, that not only those practicing violent opposition have been imprisoned and that many persons have been arrested for exercising their human rights in a non-violent fashion. In many cases, such arrests have been accompanied by torture.

The Amnesty International delegates presented statements to the effect that the organization feels that governments should proceed to try and punish criminal conduct within the framework of the law, in accordance with respect for and protection of fundamental human rights. It is important to note that even in cases of armed conflicts, the 1949 Geneva Conventions stipulate standards to protect prisoners, banning their torture or killing.

#### **Martial Law and Real Protection of Human Rights**

Colombia has been under martial law almost uninterruptedly since 9 November 1949. The Colombian Constitution stipulates that the legal grounds for maintaining martial law must be the existence of an outside war or domestic unrest of such a nature that the Executive Branch can be conferred special powers. Nevertheless, most of the individuals interviewed by the Amnesty International delegation, including magistrates and dignitaries from former administrations, assert that such a situation does not exist in the country and that in spite of this, the government is suppressing legitimate expressions

of dissent by characterizing as "subversive" non-violent protests or appeals for political participation with a view towards social change.

Moreover, international human rights instruments acknowledge that extremely serious situations can exist in which the state can take emergency measures in order to preserve the safety and rights of citizens. Nevertheless, these same international instruments, such as the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights (Article 4) and the American Convention on Human Rights (Article 28) clearly define the limits of governmental authority, to prevent human rights violations during such "emergency" periods.

Governments often resort to emergency measures to cope with crises or conflicts, but when such measures are extended or become institutionalized, there is a tendency for human rights to be threatened or sacrificed for reasons of political convenience or national security.

When it received the Nobel Peace Prize on 11 December 1977, Amnesty International stated:

"Attempts to justify restrictions on human rights by claiming that a higher national interest is at stake, often represent the first step towards intentionally paring back the entire human rights system, which is regarded as a threat to vested interests." (1)

Amnesty International is seriously concerned about the prolonged imposition of martial law in Colombia, the consequences of which have meant the almost permanent suspension of fundamental constitutional guarantees and the creation of a wide-ranging set of decrees or special legal measures that have eventually become institutionalized. Furthermore, under these measures the militarization of the administration of justice has taken root and expanded; the independence of civilian courts has been gradually undermined, and there has been a lack of legal and defense guarantees.

(1) Similar sentiments on the danger of violating human rights for national security reasons were expressed by the Third Conference of Latin American Bishops, which met in Puebla, Mexico in January 1979: "Once access to goods and social services and political decision-making has been impeded, assaults on freedom of religion and physical integrity grow worse. Murders, disappearances, arbitrary jailings, terrorist acts, kidnappings, officially approved torture, show a total lack of respect for the dignity of the human person. Attempts are even made to justify some as national security requirements." (No 1262)

In view of the above, Amnesty International feels that although Colombia has signed and ratified international human rights conventions



and pacts, its prolonged state of emergency renders ineffective the guarantees for the safeguarding of standards that are internationally recognized and set forth in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (including Articles 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 20 and 23); the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights (especially Articles 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 17, 19, 22 and 25); the American Convention on Human Rights of 1969 (especially Articles 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 23 and 27); the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Resolution 3452 (XXX), passed on 9 December 1975 by the UN General Assembly; and the Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners and related recommendations (1955), endorsed by the UN Economic and Social Council on 31 July 1957 and 13 May 1977.

### The Right to a Defense and Military Courts

Colombia has traditionally distinguished itself by virtue of its respect for the state of law, as upheld by outstanding jurists. Nonetheless, military trials of civilians since the 1960's, for political reasons, have undermined the independence and jurisdiction of civilian courts.

For example, from 1966 to 1973, almost 1,500 oral courts-martial were conducted, and military tribunals handed down more than 3,800 guilty verdicts. In 1979 there were 9 major courts-martials that tried 427 civilians. During Amnesty International's visit to Colombia the confidential phase of a massive trial was underway before military tribunals to examine the cases of 219 individuals charged with rebellion and sedition.

Amnesty International advocates fair and expeditious trials before independent and impartial courts in which defense guarantees are fully respected. Real respect for defense rights requires the observance of the following rules, in keeping with the principles common to different judicial systems and as stipulated in Article 14 of the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights and in Article 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights: the accused has the right to know the charges that are being brought against him; the accused has the right to examine the files of his case; the accused has the right to interrogate the prosecuting attorney's witnesses; the accused has the right to be heard; the accused has the right to present his own witnesses; the accused has the right to a defense attorney and to meet with him in private; the accused has the right to appeal to a higher court; and the trial must be public. Backed by the evidence furnished by many of the people it interviewed, the mission was able to verify that the right to a fair and impartial trial was, in fact, jeopardized in the case of civilian political prisoners tried by military tribunals in Colombia.

In an August 1971 letter expressing his concern over the use of military tribunals to try civilians, the then chairman of the International Executive Committee of Amnesty International, Sean MacBride, who in 1974 also won the Nobel Peace Prize, stated the following:

"Every state recognizes that it is obligated by the state of law and that no civilian ought to be tried by a military court, except in exceptional circumstances. This does not mean that military officials are less just than civilian judges, merely that military courts are, by nature, summary. The regulations and procedures for civilian courts in criminal cases have been carefully drawn up to assure persons accused of crimes the highest degree of impartiality and objectivity during their trials. The need to achieve this high degree of justice is universally accepted by all responsible attorneys and by most governments. On this basis, it cannot be retorted that very exceptional circumstances exist...that would justify the use of military tribunals. If this were the case, the real heart of the matter would not seem to us to be "whether military tribunals can be used or not," but "whether civilian courts are qualified to handle such circumstances." If the answer is yes (and I think it should be), then the justification for a trial to be conducted before a military tribunal would lose all its weight." (2)

#### Torture and Preventive Arrest

The Amnesty International delegates received numerous accounts of torture and reports of poor treatment, not only from the majority of political prisoners in the jails that they visited throughout the country, but also from former prisoners and their relatives and from political and professional organizations.

A good number of the accounts of torture were not complemented by medical certificates issued by official medical institutions, inasmuch as access to an official medical examination was practically impossible during the crucial period in which the political prisoner was being held incommunicado at military facilities. These military facilities were converted into prisons to house a large number of detainees and have normally been outside independent judicial control.

In order to determine the existence and extent of torture in the country, the mission compiled testimony and medical evidence gathered in all of the cities it visited and it also instructed its medical delegate, a specialist in analyzing the aftereffects of torture, to look into various cases. In this document, Amnesty International voices its opinion regarding torture in Colombia, bearing in mind the international documents that condemn it, such as Article 5 of

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 4 and 7 of the International Pact of Civil and Political Rights, Article 5 of the American Convention on Human Rights, and suggests institutional guarantees in accordance with the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (United Nations).

(2) See also the Colombian Supreme Court's decision of 24 July 1961 on civilian courts and military justice.

Finally, Amnesty International received detailed information on numerous political arrests and preventive detentions that have been taking place in Colombia. Most of those arrested have been members of peasant, Indian and union organizations, although doctors, attorneys, newsmen, members of political parties, human rights and religious organizations, residents of poor neighborhoods, writers, students and even their relatives were arrested in 1979.

In evaluating the information that it gathered, Amnesty International was guided by the international guarantees that establish the right to freedom of thought and the right not to be arrested arbitrarily, as well as freedom of association, organization and collective bargaining for workers, as protected by Conventions 87 and 98 of the ILO, and the rights of Indians as protected under Convention 107, and also the rights of peasant farmers to establish rural organizations, rights set forth in Convention 141.

This document is the result of intense analytical work on and discussion of the material gathered by the Amnesty International mission to Colombia. Given the country's conditions, it was deemed appropriate to present to the Colombian Government these conclusions and recommendations, which constitute Amnesty International's basic position regarding the human rights situation in Colombia. Subsequently, and only to expand upon the arguments offered here, Amnesty International will send the Colombian Government its final report, which uses specific cases to illustrate the issues dealt with in these conclusions and recommendations.

#### Conclusions and Recommendations: Actual Human Rights Safeguards

##### I. Martial Law

Amnesty International recognizes in Colombia's legal tradition a praiseworthy interest in safeguarding human rights. In addition to accepting the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Colombia has actively promoted ratification of the international agreements that protect human rights and has been one of the first signers of international and regional human rights pacts.

In point of fact, pursuant to Law 74 of 1968, Colombia approved the International Human and Political Rights Pact, its Optional Protocol and the International Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Pact, treaties that were ratified on 29 October 1969.

In addition, pursuant to Law 16 of 1972, Colombia acceded to the American Convention on Human Rights and ratified it on 31 July 1973.

Most of the standards called for in these international instruments find their correspondence in the country's constitutional provisions, as we can see in the report presented by Colombia to the UN Human Rights Committee on 14 November 1979.

In this context, martial law, which has been in effect for almost three decades, greatly facilitates human rights violations in Colombia.

The successive governments over the last three decades have made almost permanent use of Article 121 of the constitution. Envisaged for cases of "war or internal unrest," this article empowers the Executive Branch to declare martial law in part of or throughout the country and to issue decrees temporarily suspending laws that are at variance, while safeguarding, however, the integrity of the constitution.

As we said, Amnesty International is aware that there are instances in which in order to handle emergency situations, governments claim the right to temporarily suspend a number of civil rights set forth in the international instruments that they have signed. Amnesty International explicitly takes into account the existence of guerrilla groups in Colombia. Amnesty International feels, however, that to maintain martial law almost uninterruptedly for close to 30 years is tantamount to converting a temporary emergency measure into a permanent government tool, thus perverting its very nature and, in point of fact, facilitating human rights violations.

Indeed, the manner in which martial law has been enforced for so many years threatens to transform into custom and establish as normal, procedures that in themselves are contrary to human rights and that at least dangerously facilitate their violation.

Such are the cases of the massive searches, control over the private and social life of residents of militarized zones, workers detained while performing union activities, prisoners kept incommunicado for long periods at military installations, trials of civilians conducted before Armed Forces tribunals, pressures on citizens who by virtue of the services that they render to society are bound in conscience by codes of professional ethics...and...specific instances analyzed in this document.



If we examine the grounds cited by various Colombian governments for resorting to emergency measures under martial law, we will see that they have on occasion been labor conflicts and certain forms of social protest. Amnesty International feels that in order to guarantee real protection for the basic rights of citizens, a government should not resort to an emergency arrangement to resolve these kinds of conflicts; it should, instead, make use of the appropriate constitutional mechanisms while respecting international standards.

The Colombian Constitution itself stipulates that once the reasons that prompted the declaration of martial law are no longer present, the government must immediately proceed to lift it. Experience has shown, however, that once the reasons explicitly cited for declaring it no longer apply, martial law continues. Thus, for example, the current martial law decreed in October 1976, mainly as a result of a strike at the Social Security Institute, is still in force, even though the strike was over several years ago.

Moreover, martial law has lent itself to the enactment of a number of decrees that tend to be utilized as legal instruments facilitating human rights violations, as this document analyzes. Furthermore, on occasions these same decrees have long-term effects, such as stipulating sentences of up to 30 years (Decree 1923 of 1978), which do not seem consistent with an allegedly temporary, emergency measure.

As a signatory nation of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and of the American Convention on Human Rights, Colombia assumed the obligation of informing the other signatory states, through the secretariats of the UN and OAS, respectively, of "the provisions which it has suspended, the reasons for the suspension and date when it has terminated the suspension" (Article 4 of the pact and Article 27 of the convention). Amnesty International established that the current Colombian Government has not fulfilled this requirement. Therefore, the government cannot cite compliance with the above articles to justify suspending the obligations set forth both in the convention and the pact.

#### Recommendation No 1

Realizing the crisis faced by the Colombian Government, Amnesty International feels that there are sound reasons to point out that most of the human rights violations, such as massive and indiscriminate political arrests, prolonged detentions without trial, torture, summary trials of civilians before military courts of justice and political murders, have been largely facilitated, directly or indirectly, by the prolonged martial law, which has been in force in the country almost uninterruptedly since 9 November 1949.

Therefore, Amnesty International recommends that Colombian authorities give consideration to the extremely urgent need to lift martial law, inasmuch as owing to its almost uninterrupted application, the manner in which it has been utilized, the purposes that it has served and the decrees that it has given rise to, it has contributed to the current escalation of human rights violations in Colombia.

## 2. Security Statute

Ever since the enactment of Decree 1923, the so-called Security Statute, on 6 September 1978, Amnesty International has received numerous reports of human rights violations. They tell of arrests of political opposition figures, arbitrary procedures in trials, torture, assaults on the right to a defense and the replacement of regular justice with military justice.

Prior to the Security Statute and in particular since the last declaration of martial law on 7 October 1976, the Colombian Government had issued a series of decrees that are hardly consistent with the international pacts that Colombia has signed.

In fact, Decree 2193 of 1976 places attacks on members of the Armed Forces under the jurisdiction of military justice and recognizes the victim as judge, thus violating one of the principles of an impartial trial, as noted in the International Civil and Political Rights Pact (Article 14, 1). In addition to expanding the jurisdiction of military justice, Decrees 2194 and 2195 of 1976 effectively deny the remedy of appeal in the case of activities related to social protests and in the case of certain charges that are regarded as subject to military criminal justice, thus violating the provisions of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact (Article 14, 5). If we bear in mind that the above decrees empower the same authorities in charge of maintaining the public order to determine the nature of a crime, the identity of the criminal and the penalty involved, as is the case with police station commanders, we can obviously see the potential for arbitrary actions. Furthermore, Decree 2578 of 1976 stipulates as grounds for 30 days imprisonment the mere presumption or suspicion that a crime is going to be committed, thus threatening the right to personal freedom and security as established in the International Civil and Political Rights Pact (Article 9). In addition, a lack of respect for life is demonstrated by establishing an illegal exception when a homicide is committed by a member of the Armed Forces or the police in crackdown operations against a number of crimes provided for in Decree 0070 of 1978, thus enabling them to commit murders with impunity outside the framework of the law. In 1979 alone, the Council of State received more than 30 demands for indemnization for the deaths of citizens at the hands of military or police forces.

Many of these provisions are contained in Decree 1923 of 1978, the Security Statute, which also embodies other measures that we must look into.

The Security Statute was enacted 1 week before the first anniversary of the nationwide civic work stoppage on 14 September 1977. According to governmental authorities, this decree was designed to curb social disturbances and national insecurity. Therefore, the decree encompasses a wide range of crimes, among others, rebellion, kidnaping, breaches of the peace and public demonstrations. Articles 4 and 7 of the Security Statute in particular lump together actions whose nature, gravity and purpose are different. Actions stemming from social protests or economic grievances are lumped together, for judicial purposes, as common-law crimes.

In this connection, two Supreme Court justices explained their no votes on the constitutionality of this decree as follows: "What we can deduce from this, aside from the traditional intention of bypassing judges ordinary, is a severe crackdown on social protests, on union activism, on legitimate student agitation, on the efforts to foster an awareness of and unity regarding the problems jolting the country..." (Dissenting vote of Justices Jose María Velasco Guerrero and Gustavo Gomez Velasquez, 9 November 1978).

In addition, the Security Statute empowers military criminal justice to try the crimes stipulated in the same statute (Article 9), thus expanding the jurisdiction of the military over the administration of justice. Also, for certain crimes the right to petition for habeas corpus is disavowed; the remedy of appeal is denied, and free access to the mass media, such as radio and television, is curtailed, as stipulated in Article 13 of the Security Statute.

"As long as there is a breach of the peace, radio and television stations cannot transmit information, declarations, press releases or commentaries regarding the public order, the termination of activities, illegal strikes or work stoppages, or news that might incite people to commit crimes or that attempt to justify them."

Amnesty International is convinced that the enforcement of the Security Statute and the aforementioned decrees lead to violations of international standards regarding a fair and impartial trial. At the same time, their classification of and penalties for crimes pave the way for judicial arbitrariness and an actual denial of the rights set forth in international pacts, such as in Articles 9, 14 and 19 of the UN International Civil and Political Rights Pact and Articles 5, 7 and 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights.

## Recommendation No 2

Amnesty International recommends that the Colombian Government repeal Decree 1923 of 6 September 1978, the Security Statute, as well as Decrees 2193, 2194, 2195 (18 October 1976), 2578 (9 December 1976) and 0070 (20 January 1978), inasmuch as the enforcement of these decrees leads to human rights violations, as we can see in the cases of arbitrary arrests for alleged political crimes, irregular judicial procedures, restrictions on the right to a defense and the irregular trials of civilians before military tribunals.

### 3. Article 28 of the Constitution

The Amnesty International mission heard repeated complaints from attorneys, jurists and human rights defense organizations that the Federal Government was making improper use of Article 28 of the Colombian Constitution.

This article empowers the government, even in peacetime, to detain, subject to a ruling by the cabinet, individuals who are suspected of a breach of the peace. Under the same article, at the end of 10 days, the detained persons must be released or placed in the custody of the appropriate judges along with the evidence that has been developed.

The requirements set forth in this article of the constitution must be scrupulously observed in order for it not to violate the international pacts that safeguard human rights.

In point of fact, the article does not stipulate that the names of individuals detained be kept confidential, nor does it annul regulations regarding the protection of the rights of all persons under any form of arrest or detention, namely:

--The right not to be arrested arbitrarily, but in accordance with legally established procedures (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 9, 1).

--The right to be apprised, at the time of detention, of the charges being filed (pact, Article 9, 2).

Nor does Article 28 of the constitution authorize investigations regarding detainees involving special procedures. If investigations are pursued to establish potential criminal liability, all of the guarantees inherent in the criminal proceeding must be respected, including the guarantees relating to the solitary confinement of the detainee and the right to a defense.



Inasmuch as solitary confinement of detainees is one of the mechanisms facilitating the practice of torture, we must recall what Article 68 of the National Police Code stipulates in this regard: "Every person who is arrested has the right to be allowed to immediately advise his relatives of his location and, if he so requests, to be visited by his physician and to receive food, bedclothes, personal effects, clothing and reading material."

Nor does Article 28 of the constitution empower the government to delegate to military commands or other authorities the authority to determine the "serious evidence" against each person who is ordered detained under this article nor the authority to order such detentions. The reports that Amnesty International has received regarding the excessive and arbitrary use of this article mention, for example, that in many cases the government had not issued a prior detention order.

Theoretically, each detention must be approved in the Council of Ministers and then ordered by the government in a written warrant. In practice, however, these stipulations are often not observed. In interviews with the mission, persons arrested pursuant to Article 28 of the constitution have reported that military forces arrest individuals without legal grounds and without presenting the applicable judicial order. When a judicial order does exist, they are on occasion left blank, with no indication of the identity of the person to be arrested. This ultimately winds up being a military intelligence operation. This procedure could explain the excessive number of persons arrested and then set free. The delegation also observed that a significant number of relatives or friends of suspected individuals were arrested or intimidated, precisely to obtain information. Hundreds of persons have been so detained in the country, especially since 2 January 1979. The testimony heard by the mission shows that not only were detentions not preceded by a cabinet ruling or a government order but also that the 10 days of detention (which often became 15 or 30 days of solitary confinement) were used to torture individuals to obtain confessions.

Therefore, we can assert that, in general, under emergency regulations political prisoners have been arrested and placed in the custody of military forces and the police without regular judicial control or access to legal aid. The continuation of such practices has given rise to allegations of torture during the period of solitary confinement. Such allegations are hard to ignore if safeguards are not established against the uncontrolled use of military and police powers during the period of solitary confinement.

### Recommendation No 3

Amnesty International recommends that the Colombian Government:

a) Make available to the attorneys of individuals arrested pursuant to Article 28 of the constitution, the respective detention orders, or make them public, with the grounds that led the government to order the detentions;

b) Make sure that the places of detention for persons detained under Article 28 of the constitution are the sites established by the regular system of justice and known to the public, not special military installations. It should also respect the right to communication established in Article 68 of the National Police Code and the regular guarantees of detainees stipulated in Articles 9 and 14 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact of the UN and in the Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners.

### II. Right of Defense Before Military Tribunals

The Amnesty International mission interviewed a number of persons detained under charges of belonging to guerrilla groups, of collaborating or having ties with them to some degree or of concealing their activities. These persons are being or have been tried by military tribunals in the form of oral courts-martial.

Human rights committees presented Amnesty International with this statement on military justice:

"Under martial law, a good portion of legal jurisdiction has been transferred to the military. What is serious about this is not just that civilians are being tried by bodies that are part of the Executive Branch but also that military officials administering justice violate the procedural formalities set up to guarantee the rights of citizens. This can be seen, for example, in the numerous instances of arrests made without the corresponding warrants, in the practice of interrogations without an attorney present and even in the harassment of defense attorneys.

"Furthermore, military justice muddles or reverses fundamental principles of law, such as the presumption of innocence, the ban on harassing or doing violence to detainees, the need for conclusive proof for a guilty verdict, the defendant's benefit of the doubt..." (Report to Amnesty International, drafted by a commission made up of members of human rights committees, January 1980).

Moreover, in discussions with Colombian jurists, the mission's delegates heard testimony to the effect that the Colombian Constitution stipulates that "all persons shall be tried under laws in effect prior

to the act with which they are charged, before an appropriate court and in accordance with all of the elements of due legal process for each trial" (Article 26), thus safeguarding the principle of the natural judge. The same constitution provides for military tribunals to try crimes committed by active military personnel in connection with military service (Article 170).

Every person's right to be tried by an appropriate, independent and impartial court is seriously threatened by the very structure of military criminal justice and its application to civilians in Colombia.

When civilians are made subject to military justice in Colombia, it conducts the entire process, from the arrest to the trial, constituting judge and party at the same time. The very procedures of military criminal justice in Colombia, especially the oral courts-martial, are dependent on military hierarchy and the Executive Branch, which can control the system of justice by freely appointing and removing the officials who administer it.

In point of fact, one of the elementary requirements of a fair trial is that the authorities in charge of detaining a suspect and keeping him in prison be different, to the extent possible, from the authorities who conduct the trial. Both authorities, in turn, should be under the control of a judge or a third authority.

One of the reports that the mission received involved a military officer who had been appointed defense council by the court for a court-martial but had to be removed when the defendants and defense attorneys charged that he was the same person who had been instructed to interrogate and torture the person whom he was later to defend.

The summary nature of oral courts-martial and the occasionally large number of persons appearing before such tribunals preclude individual trials in which all of the elements of a fair hearing are satisfied.

In addition, defense attorneys have been forced to withdraw from oral courts-martial because of the lack of procedural and personal guarantees. Communication between defendants and their attorneys has also been impeded under the pretext that the detainee is in a restricted military zone.

On occasion, the arraignment at an oral court-martial is the only opportunity that the defendant and, to an extent, his attorney have to ascertain the charges against him. Submission of evidence is often denied, and attorneys are impeded or precluded from learning the identity of or questioning prosecution witnesses, the allegation being that the identity of military intelligence officials must be protected. Therefore, there are complaints that military trials convict people on the basis of secret evidence. Furthermore, defense attorneys and those

in attendance at oral courts-martial have on occasion been harassed, threatened and forced to leave. Thus, what ought to be public trials can become secret trials. This happened with an oral court-martial in October 1978, and in this case, moreover, a number of persons remained under arrest for 16 months without any trial at all.

Therefore, Amnesty International asserts that subjecting civilians to military criminal justice in Colombia is a procedure that does not provide for the necessary guarantees of a fair and impartial trial, as called for in Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 14 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and Article 8 of the American Convention on Human Rights.

#### Recommendation No 4

Amnesty International recommends that the Colombian Government transfer to the regular system of justice all of the trials being conducted by military justice against civilians, regardless of whether they are connected or supposedly connected with armed opposition movements.

### III. Arrest and Detention Procedures

In interviews with a great many detainees, with their relatives and attorneys, the Amnesty International delegates heard numerous reports of procedures that violate international pacts and the country's constitutional provisions when military forces arrest and detain individuals.

Based on these reports, we can outline the following typical procedure, which illustrates the various irregularities committed:

The operation begins with an early morning search of the person's residence. No warrant from an appropriate authority is presented, and persons at the residence are subjected to arbitrary treatment. No signed record is left behind of confiscated goods, and the premises are, as a rule, seriously damaged.

The detainee is taken to a military facility, where he is held incommunicado for several days, unable to advise either his family or his attorney. On occasion, he is blindfolded, handcuffed, kept standing most of the time and almost totally deprived of food and sleep.

For several days the detainee is subjected to intense questioning, at any hour of the day or night, by military intelligence agents who conceal their identity, without a defense attorney on hand, and not infrequently the detainee is subjected to various methods of coercion and mental and physical torture.



In the meantime, the detainee is on occasion portrayed to the mass media as a criminal whose guilt has already supposedly been established.

Finally, the detainee is placed in the custody of the military judges to begin the proceedings that culminate in the oral court-martial.

Although not all of the cases examined by Amnesty International conform to this model, we can assert that all detainees have been subjected to one or more of the irregularities described. Therefore, Amnesty International considers it important to recall here some of the elementary standards of law that are designed to safeguard the basic rights of detainees and that have been systematically violated, to judge by the number of cases that Amnesty International has examined.

Both the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and the American Convention on Human Rights stipulate the following guarantees, most of which are provided for in Colombian legislation:

--The right not to be subjected to arbitrary detention or imprisonment (UN International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 9, 1); American Convention on Human Rights, Article 7, 3; Colombian Constitution, Article 23);

--The right to be informed, at the time of the detention, of the reasons for it and to be notified, without delay, of the charges being filed (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 9, 2; American Convention on Human Rights, Article 7, 4; Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 430);

--A person's right to immediately inform his family of his detention and place of imprisonment, and in the case of an alien or refugee, the right to inform his country's diplomatic mission or the appropriate international organization (Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners, Nos 37-38; Vienna Convention of Consular Relations, and the Geneva Convention on the Refugees Statute);

--The right to be brought without delay before an appropriate judge or judicial authority and to be tried within a reasonable period (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 9, 3; American Convention on Human Rights, Article 7, 5);

--The right to petition for habeas corpus, in other words, to appeal to an appropriate judge or court to decide, without delay, as to the legality of an arrest or detention (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 9, 4; Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 4170);

--The right to be presumed innocent until legally proven guilty (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 14, 2; American Convention on Human Rights, Article 8, 2);

--The right to be assisted by a defense attorney of one's choice and to communicate freely and privately with him (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 14, 3b; American Convention on Human Rights, Article 8, 2c; Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 431);

--The right not to be forced to testify against oneself or to plead guilty (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Article 14, 3g; Colombian Constitution, Article 25; Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 239);

--The right not to have a confession made under torture or duress accepted as evidence (American Convention on Human Rights, Article 8, 3; Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 388).

Furthermore, the Colombian Criminal Procedure Code establishes clear-cut standards for searches (Articles 355 to 369).

Therefore, recognizing the various kinds of irregularities that have been reported in the arrest and detention process, Amnesty International feels that under current conditions sufficient guarantees do not exist in Colombia to safeguard individuals from arbitrary arrests, prolonged imprisonment without trial and irregular criminal proceedings. In particular, we have established that the absence of an independent and effective judicial authority to monitor and curb arbitrary Executive Branch or military actions had led to serious abuses of fundamental human rights.

#### Recommendation No 5

Amnesty International recommends a reassessment of existing procedures for hearing or processing reports of human rights violations, whether by the Council of State or the Supreme Court, in order to establish effective and independent mechanisms with full authority to investigate the legality of each individual detention. Their decisions must be binding on the Executive Branch. Independent examination of the alleged grounds for detentions is a minimum requirement to safeguard individuals from illegal arrests. This means that the right to petition for habeas corpus must be guaranteed.

In addition, Amnesty International feels that political prisoners should not be discriminated against. The guaranteed rights of prisoners must be respected in accordance with the provisions of the Minimal Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners and the UN Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials. Military justice should not,

first of all, conduct investigations into human rights violations committed by members of the Armed Forces, and above all, there must be a guarantee of effective judicial supervision by the regular system of justice as an essential element for safeguarding the fundamental rights of detainees.

#### IV. Torture

Prior to sending a mission to Colombia, Amnesty International had received numerous reports of the use of torture in Colombia. One of the purposes of the mission was to investigate these reports, which multiplied in number and in source during its stay in the country.

Some allegations of torture were accompanied by official medical examinations; others by private medical examinations. Some testimony came from the victims themselves when they were interviewed at jails and hospitals; other came from their relatives, attorneys and doctors. The mission also gathered information published in the printed media of various ideological persuasions, as well as assessments by several professional organizations and by persons belonging to all segments of society, including former government officials and members of the church hierarchy. One of the mission's delegates, a professional physician, was able to personally examine various cases that were referred to him.

Based on the testimony that it heard, Amnesty International can assert without fear of error that in Colombia political prisoners are tortured at military facilities, to the extent that they cannot be regarded as exceptional, incidental cases but, on the contrary, as a systematic practice.

Among the public agencies and national organizations that have verified the use of torture in the country are: the Institute of Forensic Medicine (Official Letter No D-1891/78), the Colombian Association of Democratic Jurists (letter to the president of the republic on 6 February 1979), the Bogota District Council (report submitted on 31 March 1979), the National Forum for Human Rights (report submitted on 31 March 1979) and the Antioquia Departmental Assembly (report submitted on 30 July 1979).

Based on the reports that were received during the mission's stay, Amnesty International has identified at least 33 centers at which political prisoners and former detainees have reported that torture is employed.

The same testimony indicates that there are about 50 forms of torture, all of which can be classified under the heading of the cruel, inhuman and degrading treatments defined by the United Nations. There are

normally three stages: psychological torture, which includes sensory privation and threats against one's closest relatives; physical torture, consisting of blows, jabbing, burns, chokings, suspending from ropes; and more sophisticated methods such as applying electric currents to the most sensitive areas of the body and administering drugs.

Many prisoners say that they were forced, under all sorts of pressures, to sign documents stating that they had received good treatment from military authorities.

By examining the prevailing procedures for the arrest, detention and trial of persons accused of subversion, we can uncover a series of factors that make possible or facilitate the use of torture, in that they guarantee the impunity of the torturers, thwart impartial investigations into the use of torture or prevent authorities other than the ones practicing or tolerating torture from monitoring the treatment given to detainees. The following are some of these factors:

a) From the time of his arrest, a detainee is in the custody of an organization outside the very structure of criminal justice, an organization whose legal function is not provided for even within the process set forth in the Code of Military Criminal Justice.

During this period, which lasts generally 10 days or more, when the detainee is kept incommunicado and at times unaware of his whereabouts, without contacts with either his family or his attorney, at sites not legally established as prisons, conditions that lend themselves to the use of torture are created, usually at the total discretion of officials.

b) The fact that a detainee is kept blindfolded or hooded prevents him from identifying his interrogators, which insures their impunity and increases the chances that the prisoner will be abused.

Prolonged blindfolding is in itself a sensory privation and, as such, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. In addition, a detainee must be entitled to know the identity of the officials who are involved in his case and to identify his place of imprisonment.

c) The fact that anonymous reports drawn up by interrogators are accepted as valid at trials again prevents them from being identified, which reinforces the guarantees of their impunity and allows the submission of evidence developed under torture, evidence that has no validity in the eyes of international and national law, as stipulated in Article 11 of the UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment.



d) Detainees are not generally given proper medical examinations immediately after their arrest and at regular intervals from that point on. This hampers any investigation aimed at evaluating the use of torture.

e) Inasmuch as the military forces have the authority to arrest, detain, investigate and try individuals, we have a situation in which the same authority that ordered, condoned or regarded as advantageous the use of torture is the same authority that later in the process is going to accept as valid the anonymous reports of interrogators and render judgment on the basis of evidence gained under torture.

f) The existing procedures in Colombia for conducting judicial supervision of the proceedings of military justice, through the Assistant Attorney's Office for the Armed Forces (Law 25 of 1974), do not provide a guarantee of impartiality in the event that an investigation is conducted into reports of torture under military command. In point of fact, the procedures for appointing both the attorney general and assistant attorneys place them in a situation in which their independence and impartiality could be compromised by their politically subordinate post or their membership in the military.

#### Recommendation No 6

Amnesty International urges the Colombian Government to adopt the following recommendations to provide effective protection against torture, in accordance with the principles contained in the UN Declaration Against Torture (Resolution 3452 (XXX) of 1975; the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment) as adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1975.

Amnesty International recommends that the government urgently set up public commissions to investigate the torture and mistreatment of detainees in Colombia. Such commissions should be made up of impartial, competent and independent members of the medical and legal professions whose objectivity is beyond question. The final report of these investigations should be made public.

Amnesty International also recommends that public instructions be imparted immediately to all military and police officers with regard to the interrogation period in particular; such instructions should be consistent with the guidelines of the Code of Conduct for Law-Enforcement Officials recently adopted by the UN General Assembly on 17 December 1979.

Amnesty International has found that torture occurs most often during the period of solitary confinement after detention, when interrogations

are conducted and the conditions are favorable for the use of torture. Amnesty International, therefore, recommends the following measures:

a) Presence of an attorney: not only to guard against torture but also to prevent arbitrary arrests. All detainees should be guaranteed the right to call in an attorney and communicate with their families during the 24 hours subsequent to arrest, as well as the right to regular communications thereafter, in keeping with Article 14 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and the Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners, Nos 92-93.

b) Verification of state of health: Medical examinations should be made available to arrested persons immediately after arrest, at the end of the period of military or police custody and at regular intervals during the period of custody. Medical reports should be made available to the prisoner and his attorney, in accordance with Article 6 of the Code of Conduct for Law-Enforcement Officials and the Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners, Nos 22-26 and 91.

c) Free legal aid and confidentiality: When an arrested person cannot afford his own attorney, he should be given free legal assistance. Moreover, the right to private and confidential communication between defendant and attorney should be recognized and implemented immediately, in accordance with Article 14 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact.

d) Inadmissibility of statements: No statement secured as a result of torture can be cited as evidence against the person who made it or against any other person in any proceeding, in accordance with the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, Article 12; the pact, Article 14, 3g; the convention, Article 8; the Colombian Constitution, Article 25, and the Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 388. Furthermore, no statement or confession should be admitted in court unless it was made in the presence of an attorney (Colombian Criminal Procedure Code, Article 431).

e) Indemnization of victims of torture: When it is established that a person has been the victim of torture, he should be granted indemnization and economic assistance for his social and medical rehabilitation, as provided for in Article 11 of the Declaration on Protection of All Persons Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

f) Treatment in prison: The international requirements set forth in the Minimum Regulations for the Treatment of Prisoners should be recognized and implemented at all centers of detention, and political

prisoners should not be discriminated against. Special attention should be given to the sections of the document dealing with treatment of prisoners who are ill or require medical care and with care of pregnant women and mothers with unweaned infants.

#### **Murders, Disappearances, Jailings and Assaults, Especially in Militarized Rural Zones and on Indian Reservations**

Amnesty International has received numerous reports of murders, disappearances of detained persons, jailings and other kinds of assaults and threats by military and paramilitary personnel in rural and Indian zones subject to special Armed Forces control. The reports come from nine areas of the country: Uraba, Sucre, southern Cordoba, Magdalena Medio (part of Santander, Bolivar, Magdalena, northern Antioquia and Cesar), inland (Cauca), Caqueta, part of Tolima, southern Huila and the Guajira Peninsula.

During the mission Amnesty International received direct testimony from peasant farmers and Indians in the militarized zones, more extensive documents from professional organizations, testimony of priests, nuns, doctors, attorneys, social workers, anthropologists and other professionals who work in these areas. In addition, the mission visited two of the areas from which numerous reports are forthcoming.

The residents of militarized rural zones are subject to strict control of their private and social lives. The first step is to require everyone to obtain a safe-conduct pass to travel around the zone. They are then told how much food they can buy each week, the amount generally being insufficient to feed a family. Families are thus forced to go into town every week to buy food, with no consideration for the fact that they have little money for transportation and must take time off from their work. Each purchase of provisions or medicine entails an inspection at military checkpoints. People are not even allowed to stock up on generic medicines for health care problems, should they arise. Lastly, people are required to appear frequently at military checkpoints, with no consideration for how much of a burden this investment of time and money is for peasant farmers.

To these measures we can add the degrading and inhuman punishments that violators of these controls are subjected to, the continuous threats and the climate of terror created in the zone, the ongoing searches, detentions, torture and the degree of high-handedness with which trials are conducted.

The effects of these measures are, among others, the emigration of a great many persons who cannot tolerate the climate of terror,

abandoning their lands, their only means of support, or selling them off at low prices, and the discontinuation of any community development program, inasmuch as any meeting or group work effort could be regarded as "subversive," as well as a reduction in farm work, because workers are afraid of leaving their homes so that they will not be easy victims of aggression.

Many reports gathered in Indian zones mention the presence there of armed individuals or groups (called "Pajaros" [big shots]) that operate as a sort of police force for the landowners. Many murders and other kinds of attacks on the Indian population are attributed to them.

In spite of the complaints filed with the appropriate authorities, the Indian communities have been given no protection against them.

Many serious complaints are on record regarding the particular repression that the Regional Council of the Cauca, an Indian organization, has been subjected to. Forty-eight murders of Indian members of the organization have been reported since 1973, despite which the government has not taken any special measures to protect them. Most of the victims were leaders of groups of community enterprises, cooperatives or town council officials. At the time of the visit, 30 Indian members of the organization were under arrest, including several leaders who were appearing before military tribunals. Although they are charged with criminal offenses, it is clear to Amnesty International that they were imprisoned for their membership in the Indian organization and their participation in the struggle to regain their lands.

Amnesty International feels that the regulations imposed on the peasant farmer and Indian population in the militarized zones and the control procedures employed by the military openly violate Articles 3 and 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which cannot be disregarded under any emergency rule. The right to personal freedom is also established in Article 9 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and in Article 7 of the American Convention on Human Rights. Moreover, Indian communities, as ethnic minorities, deserve special state protection under Convention 107 of the International Labor Organization, which concerns the protection of Indian populations.

#### Recommendation No 7

Amnesty International recommends to the Colombian Government that:

a) When a zone is declared militarized owing to particular conflicts, it should, in a written, public document, strictly limit the powers of military and police personnel. Such powers should not violate international human rights pacts and must accord special consideration to Articles 3, 9 and 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



b) In cases of searches, arrests and detentions of residents of these zones, it should insure effective protection of the rights of all detainees under international law (International Civil and Political Rights Pact, Articles 9, 14 and 17; American Convention on Human Rights, Articles 7, 8 and 11) and the regulations contained in the Colombian Criminal Procedure Code.

c) For cases of abuses of authority in violation of the aforementioned standards, it should establish, at the same time that special powers over a zone are granted to the army or to police, a civilian oversight agency with jurisdiction in the same zone; it should be highly competent legally and ethically and completely independent of military and police forces, so that residents of the zone can petition it for injunctions.

d) The right to petition for habeas corpus should be guaranteed and safeguarded as strongly in these zones as elsewhere in the country.

e) In order to safeguard Indians and the leaders of their community organizations against general violations of their rights, such as arbitrary arrests, mistreatment and torture, and murder, the government should take immediate and effective steps against the para-military groups operating in rural areas, and the members of such groups should be brought to trial.

Indians should also be protected against arrests and murders stemming from land tenure problems, as provided for in Articles 10 and 11 of Convention 107 of the International Labor Organization. Inasmuch as problems related to land tenure are the cause of most conflicts in Indian areas, conflicts that often result in imprisonments, torture and murder, the territories that constitute Indian reservations must be urgently mapped out and respected accordingly.

## VI. Release and Rights of Workers

The frequency and extent of arrests of labor leaders during the course of their union activities are cause for concern.

According to information received by Amnesty International in September and October 1979, members of 36 different union organizations had been arrested from October 1978 to August 1979. Some of them are still under arrest, several have disappeared, and three were murdered.

The Amnesty International delegation met with members of the National Union Council in Bogota. Both in Bogota and in other cities the delegation also heard reports of human rights violations from the four major labor organizations and from independent unions.

In their visits to jails, the delegates spoke with imprisoned union leaders, among whom were members of the Paz del Rio Union (14 of them were arrested in mid-May 1979 in the wake of reprisals taken after a strike) and the Anchicaya Union (six of the union's most active leaders were arrested in mid-1979, and the union's vice president was found dead with evidence of torture on his body).

The information that it gathered during its meetings with labor leaders throughout the country leads the mission to believe that this segment of society has been particularly hard hit by arrests and harassment in the course of its union activities, including legal strikes, labor meetings and petitions for the assertion of its rights as protected by Conventions 87 and 98 of the ILO, Article 8 of the International Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Pact, as well as Articles 21 and 23 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact. Arrests and harassment have taken place when the authorities have ascribed political motivations to these activities. Moreover, the union members told the mission that there was a deliberate tendency on the part of authorities to identify the legitimate activities of labor unions with various forms of "subversion" or "breaches of the peace" and to unjustifiably presume a link between such activities and those of armed revolutionary groups.

#### Recommendation No 8

Among the individuals who must be regarded as prisoners of conscience and who have been mistreated are many labor leaders and workers who were detained for the nonviolent exercise of their human rights, particularly in connection with legitimate union activities.

In light of this fact, Amnesty International maintains that individuals cannot be arrested for their political convictions or for their licit political activities, as stipulated in Articles 20 and 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 21 and 22 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact and Article 8 of the International Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Pact. Therefore, Amnesty International recommends and calls on the government to release these prisoners of conscience.

In the event that judicial proceedings are in order because of criminal charges pending against any of these individuals, Amnesty International calls for expeditious, impartial and public trials.

#### VII. Freedom of Thought and of Expression and Political and Professional Rights

The mission was able to establish that from the time of the enactment of the Security Statute until January 1980, 32 physicians were

detained, 5 of whom were still in jail at the time of the visit. In addition, medical associations reported that the police had murdered a physician in the city of Cali.

During the same period, in other words, under Decree 1923 of 1978, 15 attorneys, 5 priests and 3 newsmen were reported arrested. Another two newsmen were forced to request political asylum, and the whereabouts of another is unknown. All of these professionals were accused of having some sort of ties with subversive groups.

Colombian professional organizations told Amnesty International delegates that the real reasons for many of the arrests of professionals had to do with professional services rendered to individuals of a given political persuasion or to alleged members of revolutionary movements, even though such services did not mean that they identified with the political objectives of their clients.

These same organizations branded these detentions as an assault on the ethical standards governing the practice of these professions, which are viewed as a service to the human person that must be kept free from discrimination. For example, in the case of physicians, the Tokyo Declaration of the World Medical Association (October 1975) states:

"Physicians must enjoy complete independence in determining the treatment of the person for whom they are medically responsible. Their basic role is to alleviate people's suffering, and no other personal, collective or political goal should take precedence over this."

There are also cases of attorneys discharging their responsibilities as defenders of political prisoners and who were acting in accordance with internationally recognized standards for the right to a defense, who have not only been hindered and harassed but arrested as well. Similarly, newsmen, members of religious orders, artists, teachers and other professionals have been arrested who were exercising their freedom of thought and expression within the framework of Articles 18 and 19 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact. These individuals were arrested pursuant to claims that they had committed political crimes in connection with subversive activities.

The Amnesty International mission was also told of the detention of a good many members of political organizations that, although pursuing social or structural change, operate within the country's legal framework.

The mission was also told that military and police agencies have harassed and persecuted several refugees whom Colombia had granted political asylum; some of them were forced to leave the country.

Based on direct reports and testimony from persons and organizations that it met with, Amnesty International feels that [word or words missing] a wide variety of forms of protest that ought to be regarded as legitimate and legal, in order to safeguard the political and civil rights set forth in Articles 19 and 20 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Articles 19 and 22 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact.

#### Recommendation No 9

Amnesty International recommends that the Colombian Government:

a) Take effective measures so that professionals (such as physicians, attorneys, newsmen, educators and priests) are not subjected to arrest or harassment because of their conscience-motivated adherence to codes of professional ethics, pursuant to the guarantees granted them by Article 240 of the Colombian Criminal Procedure Code and in accordance with the rights set forth in Articles 17 and 19 of the International Civil and Political Rights Pact, with the 1975 Tokyo Declaration of the World Medical Association and with the internationally recognized rights of defense attorneys.

b) Ask the Legislative Branch for a clearer definition and a more precise interpretation of crimes of "subversion" and "breach of the peace," so that the political rights set forth in the international pacts signed by Colombia can be effectively safeguarded, with no opportunities for an arbitrary determination of the nature of these crimes.

c) Guarantee the personal safety of foreign citizens who come to Colombia in search of political asylum.

The harassment, detention and expulsion of political exiles by military and police forces violate the spirit of international treaties relating to refugees, in particular the Convention on the Refugees Statute, Geneva, 1951, signed and ratified by Colombia.

Should the government consider that it would be inadvisable for a foreign citizen to remain in Colombia, his case should be brought before the UN High Commissioner for Refugees so that this person can be relocated and furnished documentation accordingly.

#### VIII. 1979 Constitutional Reform and New Criminal Code for 1980

The Amnesty International mission was able to determine that a wide range of sectors in the country were concerned about the possibility that the emergency measures instituted under martial law, especially those contained in the Security Statute, would be incorporated into



the new Criminal Code as perpetual statutes. The delegation also sensed serious concern that the recent constitutional reform of 1979 seems to compromise the independence of judicial authorities by establishing new arrangements that tend to impose greater political control over the administration of justice.

**Recommendation No 10**

Amnesty International recommends to the Colombian Government that it revise both the constitutional reform of 1979 regarding the administration of justice and the new Criminal Code, in light of the above recommendations, while placing particular emphasis on insuring the best possible conditions for the independence and impartiality of the Judiciary and the effective safeguarding of human rights in Colombia.

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COLOMBIA

TURDAY, OTHERS DENOUNCE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT

Attorney General's Preliminary Statement

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 6-A

[Text] The nation's attorney general, Guillermo Gonzales Charry, stated later yesterday that the Amnesty International report is biased and that the organization did not observe strict standards in drawing it up.

In a statement released late yesterday, Gonzales Charry pointed out that the Amnesty International delegates met with him for barely an hour and gave indications that they were unfamiliar with Colombia's constitutional system.

The following is the text of Gonzales Charry's statement:

"The government has announced that at the proper time it will publicize and respond to the report by Amnesty International, which I have studied most carefully.

"It was my understanding that in order for such reports to be impartial, they were drawn up after certain facts had been fully verified, which is usually done by listening not only to complainants but to the government as well, and also by gaining a familiarity with and assessing seriously the valid reports and documents that both sides furnish.

"From what I can deduce so far from the report, my impression is that these necessary standards were not observed.

"With regard to the Office of the Attorney General, for example, the commission met with me and the assistant attorney general for barely an hour and during this time, to my surprise, asked why the attorney general did not have martial law lifted or did not revoke a number of decrees issued under it, such as the so-called Security Statute. I explained to them that under our constitutional system the power to

decree martial law, to lift it and to issue under it measures aimed at reestablishing order, was reserved for the president of the republic and his ministers and that the measures were automatically subject to the control of the Supreme Court, which had declared constitutional the decrees that constituted the groundwork for maintaining the peace. I had and continue to have the impression that the representatives were not familiar with our constitutional system.

"They then began asking about murders and jailings of physicians and attorneys, about mass slayings of peasant farmers and Indians, about detentions and torture of union laborers for exercising their union rights and about political leaders and writers, all of this done, according to their reports, as part of a plan by the Armed Forces. I then explained to them that it was not a crime to express one's opinion in Colombia, not even under martial law, and how no one had been detained or bothered for expressing their opinions, whatever they might have been; how labor unions had been fully performing their union activities even in areas where they were prohibited by the constitution; what the problem of rural guerrillas was like and what its implications were for the peasant farmers; what measures my office had taken from the beginning to guarantee the right of defense of detainees, including special inspectors and district attorneys, who are still at work today, and how these detainees were not political prisoners but individuals tried for crimes classified as common by the law. I told them about the investigations that had been undertaken into instances of excesses or mistreatment reported concerning a number of detainees and that these investigations, which were carried forward with total independence, had been initiated at times at the behest of the president of the republic, on other occasions on orders from the attorney general and on other occasions as a result of reports in the press. I also told them that such excesses were not part of any plan or system and could not be attributed to the Armed Forces as an institution, or to their commanders, and much less to the government, but rather to isolated units that might have overstepped the limits of their functions. I added that mistreatment was not verified in many of these reports and that in the instances in which proof was furnished, the persons involved were immediately subjected to the prescribed legal proceedings. I also offered to make immediately available to them the documents that my office had concerning these cases and their outcomes. They did not show any interest in familiarizing themselves with these documents, nor in learning of the crimes with which the detainees were charged, nor in accepting the cooperation that the entire staff of the attorney general's office offered them for their work. I believed in good faith that they had a real interest in finding out about all of the aspects of the problem, but that was not the case.

"I do not understand, moreover, how they can request, in the form of a recommendation, that we lift martial law, that we revoke measures that in the judgment and under the responsibility of the Colombian state are designed to maintain and defend our institutions, that we repeal the 1979 constitutional amendment on the administration of justice and that we repeal or amend the new Criminal Code. All of these measures, which fall under the jurisdiction of the government, the Supreme Court or Congress, are the expression of the workings of a democratic and republican state and are part of national sovereignty."

#### Justice Minister Says 'Abusive'

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 18 Apr 80 p 15-A

[Interview with Justice Minister Hugo Escobar Sierra on Radio Caracol; date and place not given]

[Text] Justice Minister Hugo Escobar Sierra has announced that the government will issue a "very specific and very direct" response to the report by Amnesty International, which, like Attorney General Guillermo Gonzalez Charry, he called biased and unfair.

Escobar Sierra said that Amnesty International's posture of calling for constitutional and legal reforms is abusive and violates our national sovereignty.

The following is the text of the minister's remarks, which were made on Caracol's 600-900 hours program:

[Question] Dr Escobar Sierra, what is your opinion of the Amnesty International report?

[Answer] I do not want to voice a personal opinion on the Amnesty International report, which, of course, did not surprise us, because we already knew what direction it was going to take.

I can tell you that the government will issue a very specific and very direct response to Amnesty's report and that it will be coming soon.

[Question] The attorney general said that the report was not impartial because Amnesty did not have an objective view of the facts in drawing it up.

[Answer] It is quite disconcerting that this could have happened. The attorney general told very clearly, in a terse and almost graphic



account of his experiences with these gentlemen, how they were not at all interested in really finding out about the situation in the country.

As justice minister, I can state that these gentlemen never visited me to ask for explanations or to spell out the charges, complaints or denunciations that were brought against government agencies.

So I do not see how an investigation like that can be impartial.

If you are going to take a two-sided approach and then listen to only one side, then obviously your conclusions cannot meet the standards of strict fairness.

[Question] In its report Amnesty suggests lifting martial law. What do you think about an organization, regardless of which one it is, interfering in national affairs like this?

[Answer] This is clearly an abusive stand.

[Question] They are, for example, calling for a revision of the 1979 constitutional reform and of the new Criminal Code, in addition to a lifting of martial law.

[Answer] I think that these are abusive stands and that these gentlemen are overstepping the bounds of the functions that they might on occasion discharge in a country. To me, this is a violation of national sovereignty, no more and no less, which is unacceptable and which must be rejected categorically and emphatically.

[Question] Does the government's report to Amnesty International contain specific responses to each of the complaints or does it reject the stand that the organization took in interfering in domestic affairs?

[Answer] There will be a very direct and detailed response, point by point and chapter by chapter, because the government's position is very clear-cut. It is fully aware that it is respecting human freedoms and rights in Colombia, that guarantees have been granted to all citizens, that democracy is being fully practiced and that there is freedom of the press; therefore, it can respond securely and firmly to each one of the absurd charges that Amnesty has formulated.

## Turbay Officially Refutes Report

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 20 Apr 80 pp 10-A, 18-A

[Text] The following is the text of President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala's speech:

My fellow countrymen:

On very few occasions have I made use of our television channels to address the nation. I feel that the less presidents utilize the mass media, the less they will bore their fellow citizens. Today, however, I want to personally take up two issues. One is the takeover of the Dominican Embassy, on which I cannot elaborate in lengthy remarks because talks are still going on. The other issue involves the report by Amnesty International. This has obviously been the subject of government commentary, and I would like to personally present the first portion of this commentary to my fellow Colombians.

With regard to the takeover of the Dominican Embassy, the stands of the government and the holders of the embassy are well-known. Our foreign relations minister, Dr Diego Uribe Vargas, had the opportunity to address our citizens over these same channels, and I too was able to disclose my views in the interview that I gave THE WASHINGTON POST. The government has not altered its position of seeking nonviolent, humanitarian, legal and proper solutions to this unpleasant episode, of which distinguished diplomats are the victims.

As far as we are concerned, there is no contradiction between fulfilling our domestic obligations and fulfilling our international commitments. Thus, throughout its democratic history the country has been able to sign numerous conventions aimed at safeguarding human rights, as well as at protecting the honor, life and property of diplomats assigned to our country. Pursuant to the express mandate of the Political Constitution of the Republic, we must provide similar protection to all our inhabitants.

We are not unaware of the justifiable anguish of the hostages, their families and their governments. Our sentiments are the same, though heightened by the enormous commitment involved in handling this affair.

At no time have we attempted to shirk these responsibilities, which in some instances might give rise to various not always justified reactions on the part of those who are only partially aware of developments.

For our part, we possess the calm that comes from knowing that we are proceeding with simplicity and understanding, not with arrogance and without grounds. We will persist towards our goal of finding a prompt solution and we are certain that we will not lose our patience or our calm.

I eagerly desire to have the opportunity to announce to my fellow countrymen and to the world that this painful episode has been brought to a successful and nonviolent close.

Our comments on the Amnesty International report can be divided into a general presentation of the issue, which I will give you now, and a second presentation with an item-by-item response to the assertions of Amnesty International.

#### Comments by the Colombian Government on the Amnesty International Report

When in July 1979 in London the president of the republic invited Amnesty International to visit Colombia, he was not unaware that this was the most controversial and disputed of the unofficial organizations that safeguard human rights. Nevertheless, the government, having nothing to hide, decided to reaffirm its invitation to Amnesty International to examine the human rights situation in Colombia and make recommendations.

Its visit took place during the last 2 weeks of January. The delegation consisted of Canadian physician Federico Allodi, who spent only 4 days in the country and then returned to Canada; Spanish attorney Antonio Carretero Perez, and former Xaverian student Edmundo Garcia, a Philippine national. The facts are not completely clear with regard to his departure from Colombia in 1973, but we know that he traveled to Peru and entered the Catholic University of Lima, returning subsequently to Colombia as a correspondent of NOTICIAS ALIADAS and LATIN AMERICAN PRESS, in which capacity he was questioned by the DAS [Administrative Department of Security].

The visitors were received at the airport by, among others, former Foreign Minister Vasquez Carrizosa and UNO [National Opposition Union] Senator Dr Humberto Ciales de la Rosa.

#### Varied Activities

During their first few days they visited the president of the republic, the ministers of government, foreign relations, justice, defense and the nation's attorney general, who gave them wideranging and well-documented information on the serious public order situation that prevails in the country. The attorney general offered his full cooperation to the Amnesty International delegates, but they showed no interest in receiving official information.

Later, delegates Carretero and Garcia visited former President Carlos Lleras Restrepo. They did not ask to meet with other former presidents, nor did they speak with the presidents of the legislative chambers, with his eminence, Cardinal Munoz Duque, with the leaders of political parties or with newspaper editors.

In contrast, they spoke with Mrs Yira Castro de Cepeda, from the communist newspaper VOZ PROLETARIA, and with Mrs Consuelo de Montejo, whom they visited in Buen Pastor Prison. They also met with prisoners in several jails and with many of their attorneys; with members of the Standing Committee for the Defense of Human Rights; with the members of the Committee of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and with the Committee of Relatives of Prisoners; with labor leaders of far left confederations, including communist leader Juan Pastor Perez; with members of the Broad Democratic Front political movement; with Drs Vital Balteazar Gonzalez and Jaime Cardona Fonseca and with the criminal Javier del Socorro Arango (alias "la Mula"), with whom they spoke at Bellavista Jail in Medellin. In Bucaramanga they were received by labor leader Isaias Tristancho, from the "Firmes" movement. In Tunja they visited Barne Jail and spoke with Noe Salamanca Medina, a member of the self-styled National Liberation Army (ELN). They then conversed with then court justice Dr Jose Maria Velasco Guerrero and with Dr Eguerra, the head of the judicial agency.

They also spoke with Drs Manuel Bayona Carrascal, Gilberto Vieira and Carlos Bula Camacho; with members of the "Golconda" movement and of "Pedro Leon Arboleda" (PLA); with Mrs Elpidia Caceras (the widow of Camelo), the mother of Alfredo Camelo Franco, who was jointly responsible for the murder of Minister Rafael Pardo Buelvas; with Rosa Vargas, who is charged with involvement in the slaying of seven soldiers in the Yacopi area; with Dr Apolinar Sias Callejas, and with attorneys Eduardo Umana, Hernando Hurtado, Rafael Baquero and many other members of the "Association of Democratic Jurists." Lastly, they spoke with members of CRIC [Indigenous Regional Council of the Cauca], ANUC [National Association of Consumer Peasants] and CINEP [expansion unknown]. We could go on forever if we tried to list all of the individuals with whom the delegates were in contact, but as we can readily see, the great majority of them belong to sectors that are radically opposed to the government.

The feverish activity undertaken by the Amnesty International representatives during their 15-day visit is cause for surprise. During this brief stay they interviewed 400 prisoners and their relatives, visited 11 jails in 7 cities and 2 military installations and conversed with members of labor organizations, prisoner defense attorneys, students, physicians, Indians, administration officials and attorney general's office staff. They also had time to detect the alleged existence of 33 torture centers in the country and to become acquainted with our constitution, codes and legislative decrees. They presumably investigated mass detentions, systematized torture, human rights violations and the arbitrary workings of military justice, reserving for their own information the cases that illustrate their general comments. Never has such a virulent report been drawn up against any nation while failing to present a single proven case. They even



moved up the publication date of the accusatory document, ignoring the Colombian Government's request to bring it out on 20 April, simultaneously with the Executive Branch's comments.

#### Preview of Report

The Amnesty International document is no surprise to Colombian authorities, because they recently had the opportunity to read the English language text of the organization's 1979 report and found on pages 56, 57, 58 and 59 a preview of the comments that it has now delivered for publication in expanded form. Very few new elements appear in the latest report that were not mentioned last year. This salient fact shows the preconceptions that Amnesty's delegates had of Colombia and its government before coming to our country, which received them magnanimously.

Obviously, if the president of the republic had known at the time of his visit to London that Amnesty International was committed to a report against, not about Colombia, he would have by no means invited it to visit the country.

In the government's judgment, the recent report was based on the same sources as the 1979 report, in other words, by accepting as absolute truths the complaints of alleged human rights violations that prisoner attorneys strategically set forth to thus cloak the frightening crimes perpetrated against innocent victims. They partially accomplished their objective, but naturally without having succeeded in leading astray Colombian public opinion, which has better and less biased sources of information than Amnesty International delegates do.

On 1 February, they left for Madrid, of course without saying good-bye to their host, the president of the republic. Neither did they ask any other authority for any sort of explanation, inasmuch as if they had heard them, they would not have been able to write a report so at variance with the truth and in which we can see an extreme ignorance of Colombia's legal codes, the country's situation and its irrevocable devotion to democracy.

On 1 April, Ambassador Balcazar Monzon received the text of the report in London and sent it to Bogota the following day. The government has taken an initial look at the document that Amnesty International has circulated, with its unquestionably frivolous grounds and decidedly ill intentions. Despite the short time that we have had to study the report, an initial glance reveals the hostility with which the visiting organization's libel was conceived.

## Contradictions

According to its own words, Amnesty International "works for the release of men and women who have been imprisoned anywhere in the world for their convictions, color, ethnic origin, sex, language or religion, as long as they have not resorted to or advocated violence."

Does anyone believe that the individuals who are now answering to Colombian judges for crimes that our criminal legislation clearly defines have not resorted to or advocated violence? The government does not hesitate to assert that the murders of civilians and military personnel that groups that have taken up arms against the Colombian state have claimed responsibility for cannot be interpreted as ideological stands but rather as repugnant acts of violence. No matter how much the representatives of Amnesty International feel that those allegedly responsible for these atrocious crimes come under the category of "prisoners of conscience," they will never be able to convince anyone anywhere on our vast planet of such nonsense. It is deplorable that in its report Amnesty International has overstepped the limits set forth in its own bylaws.

We can better appreciate the inconsistency of the report if we bear in mind that it mentions "the troublesome law and order problems that the government has been confronting, partly because of the violent actions of armed groups or revolutionary movements."

It is certainly inconceivable to acknowledge the violent actions of armed groups on the one hand, and immediately thereafter, in violation of your bylaws, to make such a dramatic plea on behalf of those who have resorted to and advocated violence.

## Violation of Sovereignty

The report by the Amnesty International representatives echoes the rumor that "the emergency measures instituted under martial law, especially those contained in the Security Statute, will be incorporated as perpetual statutes into the new Criminal Code. The delegation also sensed serious concern that the recent constitutional reform of 1979 compromised the independence of the judiciary by establishing new arrangements that tend to impose greater political control over the administration of justice."

Then, without bothering to verify the aforementioned fables, it recommends that the Colombian Government (as if this administration were formed to amend the constitution) revise the 1979 constitutional reform on the administration of justice. It makes a similar recommendation regarding the recently issued Criminal Code, which is the fruit of long years of study by eminent criminal lawyers from the

traditional parties and which experts regard as a masterpiece of Latin American penal legislation.

The government feels that an organization like Amnesty International cannot afford to act with license and has an obligation to proceed in a business-like manner. Thus, it should have pointed out the provisions of Legislative Act No 1 of 1979 that, in its judgment, make the administration of justice subordinate to politics. Similarly, it should have specified the articles of the new Criminal Code that supposedly duplicate the temporary provisions of the Security Statute.

Colombia is an independent republic in which sovereignty is vested essentially in the nation, from which emanate the public authorities, who discharge their functions in accordance with constitutionally established terms.

This is by no means a country that can be likened to a savage tribe and accept the abusive meddling of an international organization that recommends a revision of its political constitution, its codes and its legal system. This is an unacceptable endeavor that the government rejects firmly but not stridently.

#### Freedom and Rights of Workers

With the same superficiality that characterizes the entire report, it makes special reference to alleged labor union persecution, ranging from the harassment of union activities, to mass arrests and to the disappearances, torture and slaying of labor leaders.

At no time did Amnesty International delegates speak with the labor minister or any other official in his ministry and ask them to furnish information regarding reports of these imaginary incidents. It is bizarre, to say the least, that they should make such serious assertions without even verifying that these persons are, in fact, members of labor organizations or that, even if they are, they were the victims of government-originated actions related to their activities as union members. The government feels that the best way to prove that the people who drew up the Amnesty report were motivated by a desire to unjustly tarnish Colombia's reputation is to cite a document signed by the presidents of our two largest union organizations, the UTC [Colombia Workers Union] and the CTC [Confederation of Workers of Colombia], Messrs Tulio Cuevas and Manuel Felipe Hurtado. In a letter addressed to the labor minister, Dr Rodrigo Marin, on the 14th of this month, the two renowned labor leaders have the following to say:

"Mr Minister:

"We would like to state the following in response to your letter, to which you attached a copy of Section VI of the conclusions and

recommendations of the Amnesty International mission that visited the country in January of this year, plus a questionnaire with regard to this section:

"With regard to the first point in your questionnaire, we can report to you that Comrade Hernando Rodriguez Maldonado obviously attended a meeting with the Amnesty International mission at which he outlined the case of labor leader Adolfo Leon Pomo, who was tortured in the city of Medellin by an agent of the police F-2, who placed him on an anthill, where he was bitten by the insects on his genitals. At the same meeting, Comrade Hernando Rodriguez Maldonado told the gentlemen from Amnesty International that in response to complaints from the Antioquia Workers Union (UTRAN), an affiliate of the UTC in that department, the authorities undertook an immediate investigation, which culminated in a court-martial that led to the immediate dismissal of the guilty party from the Armed Forces. In addition, he was sentenced to prison for his offenses. Comrade Hernando Rodriguez Maldonado has also signed this letter to vouch for the above facts.

"In response to the second point in your questionnaire, and bearing in mind that it contains several questions, our answers will follow the order in which they are presented. We have no knowledge to date that union leaders are imprisoned in Colombia because of eminently labor union activities. With regard to a number of labor movement leaders still being detained, several of them having disappeared and three having been murdered, we must inform you that our information is that a number of labor leaders are under arrest and are on trial for activities other than union activities and that we have no information whatsoever concerning the disappearance of labor leaders.

"Concerning the report that three labor leaders have been murdered, we believe that the gentlemen from Amnesty International are referring to comrades Jose Raquel Mercado, Rafael Bayona Jimenez and Guillermo Piedrahita Rabe. Jose Raquel Mercado was the president of the CTC and widely known in the labor world for his brilliant career on behalf of workers; Rafael Bayona Jimenez was the number one man in the metal-workers branch of the labor movement and at the time of his murder the president of the Paz del Rio National Union of Steelworkers, as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the UTC; Guillermo Piedrahita Rabe was the president of the Guadalupe Union of Meat Packing Plant Workers. They were cravenly and vilely assassinated by subversive movements, which claimed responsibility for the slayings of the first two.

"In reference to the third point of the document at hand, Comrade Carlos Flechas, the president of the Paz del Rio National Union of Steelworkers, has told us that no worker at that plant has been detained in reprisal for having taken part in the strike that the



union was forced to stage last year. Comrade Flechas also tells us that a number of Paz del Rio workers were arrested, according to information that the appropriate authorities have furnished him, for reasons having nothing to do with union activities.

"Proceeding immediately to point four in your questionnaire, our categorical reply is that in no way have the activities of the labor movement, as such, in Colombia been the object of 'harassment' by this administration, as far as the UTC and CTC are concerned.

"We have thus replied to the questionnaire that you have addressed to us, Mr Minister, and in passing indicated our opinion of your splendid performance as minister.

"Respectively yours, UTC, Tulio E. Cuevas R., president; Hernando Rodriguez M. vice president; Victor M. Acosta V., secretary general; CTC, Manuel Felipe Hurtado, president."

We can readily see that the testimony of the dignitaries of the democratic labor confederations constitutes a complete refutation of the slanted assertions in the unfortunate report by the Amnesty International delegates.

#### Vagueness

The Amnesty International libel is marked by its stunning vagueness. Its 44 pages do not contain a single proven fact. The account and the recommendations are based on rumor and assertions, not on evidence. Nowhere can we see that evidence has been analyzed or situations examined objectively. The people who wrote it decided to become soundingboards for those who are improperly called "prisoners of conscience" and renounced, without many scruples, the idea of being strict spokesmen of the truth.

In criticizing Decree 1923 of 1978, which they without grounds claim curtails human rights, they fail to refer to the Supreme Court's finding that it was constitutional. In contrast, they highlight the dissenting votes by the two justices who did not share the court's majority ruling. With these isolated assertions the report attempts to establish an impossible judicial practice, in other words, to attach greater validity to dissenting votes than to the ruling. That is to say, as far as Amnesty International is concerned, the dissent of the two justices who were alone in upholding their thesis is more respectable than the opinion of the 19 who upheld the constitutionality of the decree. This case illustrates the hostility that inspired the work of the delegates from the disputed human rights organization based in London.

## A Significant Silence

We invite those who have read the report to which I have been referring to point out a single criticism, no matter how brief, of the many frightening crimes perpetrated in Colombia by terrorist groups that for some time now have been striking vicious blows at innocent persons who, almost without exception, are not involved in politics.

Nowhere does the report mention the "people's jails," the theft of weapons from the Northern Army Cantonment, and the assassinations of labor leader Jose Raquel Mercado, Texas Oil manager Dr Nicolas Escobar and government minister Dr Rafael Pardo Buelvas.

## Against the Armed Forces

In contrast, they have formulated every possible attack against the Colombian Armed Forces. According to the Amnesty International report, they have murdered peasant farmers, workers and students, caused several persons to disappear, tortured the overwhelming majority of prisoners and imposed "fixed" justice. They attack military justice with the argument that civilians should not be tried by military judges, but they overlook the special law and order-related circumstances that have made this temporary practice advisable as one of the emergency measures to eliminate the factors that are causing a breach of the peace.

Anyone who is familiar with our legal institutions knows that as the Supreme Court ruled on 13 August 1979, military justice "extends its jurisdiction to try common crimes on authorization from the constitution itself." The court adds that "Article 61 of the constitution authorizes under martial law an extension of military jurisdiction to try common crimes when they are related to a breach of the peace or with the causes of such abnormalities."

The Colombian military has never asked for an extension of military jurisdiction. It has been circumstances themselves that have forced various governments, headed by illustrious democrats, to ask the Armed Forces for their effective collaboration in preventing the factors of breaches of the peace from growing more severe.

In various documents and in countless speeches by the president of the republic, this administration has reaffirmed that once the reform of justice is under way, once the criminal codes are issued, once the oral courts-martial are concluded and once the situation of unions is resolved, there will be no reason for opposing the transfer of trials of common crimes from military judges, who are now dealing with them temporarily, to ordinary judges.

## Allegations of Torture and Human Rights

With regard to reports of torture, the members of Amnesty International merely listened to the testimony of the interested parties and regarded them as proven, without having checked into the cases on which they based their assertion that torture was practiced to obtain confessions. We know that of the three Amnesty International delegates, the one who spent the least time in Colombia was the distinguished Canadian physician, who regardless of his professional expertise, did not have the time to perform the costly task of analyzing and verifying possible torture that the report says he did.

Portraying Colombia in an unquestionably false light, the report says that many persons have been persecuted and detained because of their professional or union activities. It does not present a single specific case in making this rash assertion; it merely echoes rumors and accepts biased accounts. The government rejects these findings as untrue and asserts that there are no "prisoners of conscience" in this country. No one has been detained and tried for being a member of a labor union, a physician, attorney, student, peasant farmer, craftsman or for belonging to a specific political party. It so happens that those charged with crimes most likely include individuals who practice a given profession or trade. Obviously, however, they have been arrested for committing crimes, not for practicing their profession. More specifically, no one has been arrested for the honest practice of a trade or profession, but neither does being a worker, student, union member, physician, attorney or priest constitute a license to commit crimes.

The Amnesty International representatives feel that it is a violation of human rights to investigate any act against state security. In contrast, any offense committed by groups who have taken up arms escapes the normal monitoring activities of the organization and does not constitute a violation of human rights. As far as our vitriolic accusers are concerned, the legitimate authorities, not the terrorists or subversives, are the dangerous ones.

Inasmuch as the government has called for numerous investigations into abuses of authority, it does not deny that lower-level officials might have overstepped their legal bounds. That is a possibility. But this is by no means a widespread practice. The government has said with renewed insistence that it does not stand behind actions that threaten the supreme dignity of the human person and that it will not flinch in its determination to punish, when it has the jurisdiction and with all of the force of the law, those who are involved in actions of this nature. By the same token, it is up to the appropriate judges to proceed diligently to prevent the guilty parties from going unpunished.

An honest government, such as the Colombian Government, cannot guarantee that all, absolutely all of its members will behave as they ought to, but on the other hand it is able to assert that it will not allow them to be cloaked with guilty impunity and that they will be subjected to thorough investigations and punished as Colombia's laws prescribe.

When President Turbay Ayala invited Amnesty International to visit the country, his hope was, as a matter of fact, that it would be able to report cases to the government that it probably did not know of, so that it could proceed to investigate them. However, Amnesty International decided to waste the opportunity to prudently serve the noble cause of defending human rights and lashed out at our judicial institutions, at the administrations of the last 30 years and at the republic's Armed Forces, inasmuch as its main interest was to justify the report that had already been drawn up before it arrived in Colombia.

Naturally, the excesses of Amnesty International's report do not dampen the government's determination to inexorably investigate and punish human rights violations by civilian or military authorities.

Once again we are bewildered to see Legislative Act No 1 of 1979 ignored. One of the far-reaching accomplishments of this constitutional amendment was to raise the defense of human rights to constitutional status by entrusting this task to an autonomous and independent institution of the Executive Branch of government. In point of fact, and at the initiative of the president of the republic, Article 40 of the act in question put the nation's attorney general and his agents in charge of defending human rights and for this purpose conferred on him special powers such as the ability to demand information without any possible reservations being cited, the authority to monitor the official conduct of administration and judiciary workers, the power to introduce bills to Congress regarding the defense of human rights and the authority to take up any citizen complaint concerning an alleged human rights violation, in which case he can verify it, make a public statement on it and, furthermore, expedite the corresponding legal proceedings to punish those responsible.

There is no explanation as to why a report whose main subject is the defense of human rights overlooked the recent Colombian amendment that made the safeguarding of these rights one of the constitutional powers of the attorney general.

#### Martial Law

The Amnesty International report contends, more frivolously than correctly, that owing to martial law, the Security Statute and other legislative decrees, human rights are ignored in Colombia, and high-handedness prevails in the form of mass arrests, arbitrary detentions, torture, murder, disappearances and other abuses.



Such an assertion is not surprising if we bear in mind the complete ignorance that the Amnesty report shows regarding Colombia's judicial system. If it were familiar with the text of our political constitution, it would have readily seen that under the provisions of Article 28, "even in peacetime, but while there are serious grounds to fear a breach of the peace, individuals against whom there are conclusive indications that they are threatening the public peace can be apprehended and held on orders from the government and with a prior ruling by the ministers." Hence, this regulation has not been adopted under martial law and much less under Decree 1923 of 1978; the constitution itself allows detentions in strict accordance with the cases that it provides for.

Eminent national leaders and jurists have maintained that under martial law the 10-day deadline prescribed in Article 28 to release detainees or to place them in the custody of the appropriate judges with the evidence against them, does not apply. Nevertheless, this administration has chosen the more restrictive of the two interpretations. It wisely requested the opinion of the Council of State, which was favorable, and at the end of the 10 days set forth in the constitution, those being held have been placed in the custody of the appropriate judges. In many cases the judges have ordered individuals arrested and in many others have released them.

Whoever conscientiously studies the status of prisoners referred to in the Amnesty International report will come to the conclusion that most of them were being held under Article 28 of the constitution, not under provisions issued under martial law, although we must acknowledge that the penalties imposed on those guilty of crimes correspond to the ones prescribed in these decrees.

The writers of the report are surprised that temporary provisions of decrees, such as the ones stemming from Article 121 of the constitution, prescribe lengthy sentences. This is a puerile argument, because nowhere does the constitution prescribe the judicial absurdity that the sentences stipulated in legislative decrees must be less lengthy or of the same length as the ones in the temporary measures. In other words, individuals who are found guilty of crimes provided for in the aforementioned decrees can be given 20 or 30 year sentences, depending on the gravity of the crime, and the lifting of martial law and the resulting suspension of the decrees issued under it do not imply any limitation on the sentence imposed by the appropriate authority. The rule governing these cases is that defendants are tried in accordance with pre-existing law.

#### Controls

The Amnesty International delegates have passed judgment on our martial law with an unconcealable breach of faith, because in Colombia martial

law differs in scope from most other countries' legislation. In the first place, martial law is governed in our country by regulations that are in keeping with a state of law. Only relative guarantees, not absolute or fundamental ones, can be suspended under it.

The government cannot repeal laws by decree. Its powers are limited to the suspension of those that are incompatible with martial law. The existence of martial law in no instance impedes the normal workings of Congress. Furthermore, the government is obliged to send to the Supreme Court the legislative decrees that it issues pursuant to the powers conferred by Article 121, so that the high court can decide promptly on their constitutionality.

As we can see, there is a three-pronged control over emergency legislation: the automatic control of the Supreme Court, the political control that Congress can exert, and the public action that any citizen can attempt. If to this we add that pursuant to the above authorities the executive cannot, in accordance with the repeated case rulings of the court, issue regulations on matters that are not connected with the cause of the breach of the peace, we can thus conclude that Colombia's martial law does not expand in unlimited and arbitrary fashion the powers of the Executive Branch, nor does it exempt him from the responsibilities inherent in all of his actions.

Various administrations have promoted far-reaching agreements between the two major political groups that have shaped our institutions and forged Colombia's history as a republic, in order to reduce and clarify the scope of the government's powers under martial law. To ignore this fact is an obvious demonstration of the desire to produce, by means of the Amnesty report, effects that are far removed from the defense of human rights and from the interests of the Colombian people.

### Prerequisites

Notwithstanding the way in which the powers of the executive under martial law have been curtailed, the current administration has made solemn public commitments to create the conditions for eliminating the causes of the breach of the peace and for insuring that this and future administrations will not have to resort to emergency measures. The man who is now president of the republic promised, when he was a candidate, to devote himself to the great undertaking of institutional reforms as a preparatory step towards lifting martial law. As chief of state, he has promoted reforms of the system of justice, of Congress, of our codes and of higher education. As these reforms develop, they will make possible the elimination of the temporary measures that the executive must resort to today in order to prevent the state of law from breaking up.

The government is not indifferent to the fate of Colombian democracy and cannot, in order to court ephemeral popularity, allow crime and anarchy, clothed in the false robes of a social revolution, to take hold of the country. The government, with the invaluable cooperation of the Congress and the Liberal and Conservative parties, is calmly progressing towards the sought-after goal of absolute normalcy.

#### Opposition and Subversion

The president of the republic has said that the return to normalcy is not only the task of the authorities; in order to achieve this goal subversive groups must lay down their arms and again take up the paths of civilian, democratic opposition. The government has the obligation to provide guarantees to all parties, including opposition parties, no matter how extreme their opposition might be. On the other hand, it has the constitutional duty to combat subversion. Although it is true at present that subversion is not in a position to overthrow the legitimate government, it can carry out terrorist attacks and activities that generally affect individuals who cannot be regarded as responsible for the circumstances that serve as the insurgents' pretext for their ill-famed exploits.

The executive has reaffirmed his determination to move forward towards normalcy. Those who have not yet spoken the same language are pursuing contrary objectives and are utilizing a wide range of weapons, including the incentives for and justification of terrorist activities that a number of organizations and not a few individuals are generously furnishing them. Bogota, 19 April 1980

#### Politicians, Businessmen Speak Out

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 21 Apr 80 p 6-A

[Text] Politicians and businessmen have given wideranging support to the response that the government formulated yesterday to the report by Amnesty International, which last January investigated allegations of torture and arbitrary arrests in Colombia.

The consensus among those surveyed by EL TIEMPO was that the arguments advanced by President Julio Cesar Turbay refuted the "biased and trumped up charges" leveled by the organization. Among others, the liberal daily EL PUEBLO of Cali termed Turbay's reply to Amnesty's charges "pulverizing."

Through authorized spokesmen, private enterprise and the government coalition disavowed the Amnesty International report while praising the national government's stand.

## The Business Sector

Eduardo Goas Gutierrez, the president of the Bogota Stock Market, stated:

"The president made very vigorous and very clear-cut remarks on Amnesty International's stand. It seems that Amnesty's report looked at only one side of the coin."

Enrique Luque Carulla, manager of Carulla Supermarkets, indicated that President Turbay Ayala took a conscientious stand.

"The country is experiencing principle-related problems, and he dealt with them very well. He recalled that we have a constitution and laws and that we cannot forsake them," Luque indicated.

He asserted that it is very odd that the Amnesty report agreed with the 1979 version, which no one was aware of. "He spoke clearly and vigorously, and his message provided a sense of calm," Luque noted.

He said that in his opinion the Dominican Embassy problem has been dealt with cautiously but with firmness and assurance.

The president of the Grancolombiano Group, Jaime Michelsen Uribe, felt that President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala's address was "excellent" and "clarified the country's position on this delicate aspect of human rights."

Michelsen Uribe pointed out that Turbay Ayala's speech was in line with all of the facts and "deserves the entire country's support."

"I think that in order to keep reports from being so partial and to correct the errors in the Amnesty International report, the private sector and business should meet with the OAS mission, to which end I make myself available," Michelsen Uribe added.

The OAS mission begins its assessment of the human rights situation in Colombia in Bogota today.

## EL PUEBLO

The Cali paper EL PUEBLO said in yesterday's editorial:

"...With regard to Amnesty International's prefabricated report, an association of private jurists and investigators, seemingly dedicated to a hardworking defense of human rights, has acted in bad faith in Colombia's case. Much of the report is the same as an English-language



version that it had published previously and that was expanded after a fleeting and almost furtive visit to the country, where the members of the commission met, in particular, with all of the government haters."

It goes on to say: "The celebrated commission's report echoes and amplifies all of the claims of the so-called political prisoners but who actually have perpetrated murders, kidnappings, robberies, blackmail, attacks on army weapons depots and, in short, a whole series of illegal acts listed in the Criminal Code, as well as the pleas by their attorneys, obviously in conjunction with their clients and the entire chorus of left-wing intellectuals, some of whom are entrenched in the columns of the country's most sober newspapers. This same commission was invited in London by President Turbay Ayala to visit our country; he did so in the best faith and confident that it was an organization of proven responsibility...One by one, the president has refuted the commission's charges and in keeping with his official function as guardian of our national sovereignty, has rejected the improper interference of a group of foreigners in the country's domestic affairs."

Senate President

Senate President Hector Echeverri Correa said:

"From the time that Amnesty International was invited, it was thought to be a mistake to have done so, inasmuch as this group is committed to views that it had already voiced separately. It is difficult today to pinpoint the source of the funds that enable the organization to function and maintain its bureaucracy. Many of the contributions that it receives are from committed groups, which prevents them from being objective and impartial. The president underscored not only the report's superficiality and the fact that only opposition sectors were consulted, but also the fact that opinions that a previous report had voiced were repeated in this one. I think that the objective and sober letter from the worker federations is proof that the government does not systematically violate human rights. We can conclude from the report that only the criminal and guerrilla groups operating in the country commit such violations. Seemingly, however, only governments can be accused of human rights violations, and in contrast the feeling is that protection must be accorded the terrorists who are constantly threatening these rights, impersonating the government, the army and the people. Much of the report was written by third parties, which strips it of any pretense of a scientific investigation."

Felio Andrade Manrique

"Last week, we Alvarist ministers and Guillermo Velez Ureta, the vice president of the Board of Directors, visited the president to clearly

express our backing and support for him and our rejection of the rash assertions in Amnesty's report, in particular because of its improper meddling in the country's internal problems. This is a time when people must really support the government, without qualifications, because the ultimatum that they have presented is absolutely unacceptable, inasmuch as subversives and the country's legally constituted rulers cannot sit at the same table. That would be complete surrender by the government. I think that all of this is one of those strange coincidences, because the Amnesty people did not wait until the date that the government has requested for publication of both the charges and the answers to them. Amnesty would seem to be a semi-official or unofficial agency of the M-19, inasmuch as it published its report before it was supposed to."

Alberto Dangond Uribe

Conservative attorney and writer Alberto Dangond Uribe said:

"I listened carefully to the speech by the president of the republic. To tell you briefly what I think about it, the most appropriate thing I could say is that I fully understand his thoughts, that I feel that the words he used to express them were very fitting and that I am in agreement with the approach and standard of conduct that are behind them. It seems to me that this is a response in keeping with the nature of the problems at hand and with the report submitted by Amnesty International. I voice my solidarity with the president."

"The Amnesty International delegates acted in a biased way towards Colombia," said the former chief justice of the Supreme Court, Jose Maria Eguerra Samper, who was visited in January by two of the organization's delegates in the country at the time.

Eguerra Samper emphasized that this was his personal impression after his meeting with and lengthy questioning by Carretero and Garcia on behalf of the international organization.

Speaking on RCN's program "Frente a Frente," Eguerra Samper referred to the Dominican Embassy problem and mentioned that there is only one constitutional solution in this regard, which would be in the hands of the Congress of the Republic.

"This is the only legal solution, and it is stipulated in Paragraph 19 of Article 76 of the National Constitution, which reads: 'It is the duty of Congress to make laws. Congress can grant general amnesties or pardons for political crimes by a two-thirds vote of the members of each house and for grave reasons involving the public good. In the event that the beneficiaries of such amnesties or pardons are exempted from civil liability to private parties, the state will be obliged to pay any applicable indemnizations.'"

Eguerra Samper spoke about martial law and said that the country has gotten used to living under it, but that this does not mean that under Article 121 the government can do anything other than removing the causes that led to a breach of the peace. "The government cannot, pursuant to Article 121, commemorate the 300th anniversary of Rosario College or join in celebrating the 100th anniversary of an illustrious Colombian."

He went on to say, however: "In this case, given current circumstances, if the government feels that this would eliminate a factor leading to a breach of the peace, it might perhaps be able to do so."

"I do not know whether in such a short visit the gentlemen from Amnesty International become well-acquainted enough with the real situation of prisoners in Colombia. There is a great deal of exaggeration in their assessments. I refuse to believe that in Colombia, a country that respects the law and has a democratically elected government like the one that we fortunately have now, torture is being practiced as described by Amnesty International," Eguerra Samper said, adding that without evidence he could not voice an opinion, "but in the event that there is such evidence, I hope there is very little."

"I think that it would be because of a misapplication of disciplinary measures, not by middle-level commands but by subordinate units that have been given custody in these instances," the justice said.

He then said that "in any case these kinds of biased reports on human rights in Colombia tarnish the country's image."

"I am not saying that I no longer believe that Amnesty International is a very respectable organization. But from what I can gather from news reports, my impression is that they judge democratic regimes too harshly and are too kind in dealing with undemocratic regimes," the former chief justice added.

Eduardo Umaña Luna

Attorney Umaña Luna commented: "First of all, I ask EL TIEMPO's indulgence to clarify once and for all that I have never had anything to do with Amnesty International. With regard to what the president said, it is going to prompt a wideranging debate, inasmuch as he is now questioning a mission that he had asked to come."

"In other words, did the chief of state err in inviting Amnesty International or, on the contrary, did he do so on purpose in order to gather data on the country's current situation? Dr Turbay Ayala is a skillful politician. A segment of public opinion is wondering whether with his report to the country he is tacitly giving free rein

to debate concerning the responsibilities of a number of officials in connection with the extremely serious problem of disappearances, deaths and torture that various branches of government are now acknowledging, and to this we can add the highly legitimate protests of men like Carlos Lleras Restrepo, Dario Echandia and even the 10 percent that Dr German Zea Hernandez spoke about as government minister. These three well-known men know why they are saying this and, furthermore, they have had the bitter experience of being politically persecuted and even of having seen their brothers murdered, as in the case of Professor Echandia. If this is what major figures in our country are saying, then why are common people being denied the right to criticize? It is a fact that public opinion is frightened. Fortunately, there is still freedom of the press. Once and for all we must wipe out the stigma that all criticism is tantamount to subversion. We must not continue to confuse the physician with the patient.

"The judicial reform in criminal matters has not yet been carried out, inasmuch as now that the constitutional provisions have been issued, the government has not convened special congressional sessions to pass the corresponding laws. What is the reason for this stand-still, which openly contradicts what Dr Turbay Ayala said about lifting martial law when the reform is undertaken?

"With regard to the Security Statute, it is still in force under martial law, and only when this situation has been resolved will it cease to be in effect so that common penal law can again apply.

"Since the president mentioned the current situation at the Dominican Embassy, many people think that without violating the constitution and the law and under martial law, the government could issue a decree-law transferring the trials that military criminal justice is currently conducting against private individuals to the regular system of justice. It would be worthwhile promoting this idea.

"The government must not continue the policy of gaining electoral pardons through military Hail Mary's."

Yira Castro de Cepeda

Yira Castro de Cepeda, a Bogota councilwoman, member of the Communist Party and writer for VOZ PROLETARIA, said:

"The Communist Party has issued a proposal that in some respects coincides with the M-19's, as regards the need to seek a democratic solution to the crisis that the country is now experiencing, to lift martial law, to repeal the Security Statute and to pave the way for grass roots participation in the country's major decisions.



"At the moment, a democratic path is the only chance of preventing a violent solution to the current crisis. In this regard, I think that the M-19's proposal is constructive.

"With regard to the Amnesty International report, I think that it is in line with the facts. They obviously did a thorough job. They were thoroughly acquainted with human rights violations in the country and managed to present an accurate view of what is going on here. A country that has lived under martial law for 30 years and in which the ruling classes have no new proposals for the people inevitably arrives at a situation like the one Amnesty International described.

"As an example I can cite 2nd Army Cpl Pinzon Zora, who reported the use of torture in the army and the murder of a landowner by the name of Camelo, a murder that he personally witnessed. And then there is also the slaying of Councilman Dario Arango, from the UNO, in Puerto Berrio, to mention only two cases in which the use of torture was obvious."

Apolinar Diaz

Senator Apolinar Diaz Callejas said:

"I had the opportunity to listen to the president's speech last night, and it surprises me that he accused Amnesty International of having done intensive work in the country. Rather than an accusation, this is praise for the work they did. Secondly, inasmuch as the president himself and the government invited the group in to investigate and to draw up recommendations, Amnesty International cannot be charged with violating our national sovereignty. It worries me that the government is angered by this report.

"We Colombians have a duty to take an in-depth look at our institutional and judicial system, to seek a solution to the social crisis that we are experiencing and to tackle our institutional crisis."

Communique of the Popular Liberal Union

For its part, the Popular Liberal Union released the following declaration:

"As staunch democrats and liberals in the Popular Liberal Union, we have already expressed our concern over the obvious deterioration in human rights in Colombia after the enactment of Decree 1923 of September 1978, better known as the Security Statute. Therefore, we could not remain indifferent to the controversy prompted by the publication of the Amnesty International report, which was drawn up on the basis of the visit that the well-known organization paid to our country on an express invitation from the president of the republic.

"We have taken an active part in this debate, which has gone on almost uninterruptedly since 1978, and our exclusive motivation has been our conviction that Colombian liberalism's number one mission is to safeguard the dignity of man by demanding respect for his freedoms and struggling for conditions that will insure the rights of the human person.

"On this occasion we would like to express our surprise at some of the comments made with respect to the Amnesty International report, including the president's televised remarks, which are an attempt to invalidate its authors and its content by contending that it is vague and does not set forth specific charges. The report, however, contains troublesome and clear-cut assertions such as 'based on the testimony that it has heard, Amnesty International can assert, without fear of error, that political prisoners are tortured at military facilities to an extent that they cannot be regarded as exceptional or fortuitous but, on the contrary, as a systematic practice.'

"Those who would conceal with words the harsh reality portrayed in the report, which wounds the humanitarian sensibilities and respect for law that have prevailed in Colombia, would have us believe that the signers of the accusatory report are unfamiliar with Colombia's institutions, when in fact their judgments contain no legal errors and their recommendations aim only at getting the government to dismantle the mechanisms that have been set up and to abandon the arrest and detention procedures that have led to a disregard for human rights, as the report explains in detailed and thorough fashion. In connection with the recommendations, we should recall that Amnesty International was asked expressly to make them, as the president said in his televised speech on Saturday.

"In addition, it is strange that the attorney general, a high-level official with the power to investigate human rights violations, should proceed in statements to the press to regard as not guilty individuals who could have committed the actions that were reported, thus disqualifying himself from exercising his functions, which were enhanced by the constitutional reform of 1979.

"In conclusion, as liberal citizens we feel that in light of the complaints that have been filed, the country is facing a serious situation and that in order to tackle it, it must identify and eliminate its causes, without forgetting to conduct the proper investigations and to impose penalties on guilty parties.

"We invite the spokesmen of the various political forces and the country's university sectors to help us organize a debate to thoroughly analyze the Amnesty International report and the government's

response, with the assurance that this will help to enhance the human rights situation in Colombia and to perfect our state of law, which is currently the object of deep-seated concerns." (Signed) Roberto Arenas, Fabio Lozano, Jaime Vidal, Jaime Pinson, Apolinar Díaz, Jairo Parra, Enrique Parejo, Carlos Martínez Landazabal, Antonio Hernandez, Ramiro Cardona, Libardo Lozano, Maria Fernanda de Castaneda, German Lozano, Delio German Enciso, William Cruz.

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## USSR ASSISTANCE, COOPERATION REVIEWED

Moscow **Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta** in Russian No 18, 1980 p 2

[Article by N. Kukharev: "USSR-Cuba: Fruitful Cooperation"]

[Text] It is 20 years this May since diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and revolutionary Cuba were established. The land of the soviets was one of the first to recognize Latin America's first nation of workers and peasants. Close and fraternal interrelations based on Leninist principles of proletarian internationalism were established between the USSR and Cuba. Led by the vanguard of Cuban working people--the Communist Party--revolutionary Cuba managed to successfully withstand the economic blockade by the USA and other imperialist powers, to achieve great success in the development of the national economy and to become a full member of the community of socialist nations.

The First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba noted that cooperation with the countries of socialism played an exceptionally important role in the resolution of those problems facing the republic. Speaking before the congress delegates, Comrade Fidel Castro emphasized: "Without the continuous, decisive and generous assistance of the Soviet people our homeland would not have been able to stand its ground in the fight against imperialism."

#### Fraternal Assistance

Soviet-Cuban economic and scientific-technical cooperation became broad in scale and scope during this period. As long ago as 1960 the Soviet Union, faithful to the principles of socialist internationalism, granted Cuba a long-term credit of \$100 million. Against this credit the republic was given technical assistance in the renovation of a metallurgical plant and a number of other enterprises and the construction of thermal electric power stations.

In recent years the forms of cooperation between the two countries have been significantly expanded and enriched. In February 1974 a Soviet-Cuban declaration was signed in Havana; it was an important step in the



development of cooperation. In 1976 a large-scale Soviet-Cuban agreement concerning economic and technical cooperation for the years 1976-1980 was concluded. A characteristic feature of this agreement lies in the fact that it concerns not only technical assistance which is to be granted for the construction of individual enterprises, but also the solution of major problems of the Cuban national economy in general. It has defined to a significant degree the long-term prospects for Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation. Work will be continued beyond 1980 on a number of the most important facilities stipulated by the agreement. These facilities include an atomic power plant with a capacity of 880,000 watts, a metallurgical plant with a capacity of 1.3 million tons of steel per year, a new petroleum refinery in Cienfuegos, production-construction bases in the provinces of Holguin and Cienfuegos.

In the 20 years Soviet technical and economic assistance has helped with the construction and renovation of about 200 major economic facilities including industrial enterprises. Today these enterprises provide 100 percent of the rolled products, 90 percent of the steel, 35 percent of the electrical energy, more than 10 percent of machine building output and the production of the metal working industry.

Cooperation, which is successfully developing in the area of geological exploration has made it possible to create the republic's first geological service on a national scale and to provide for the establishment of a raw material base for a number of industrial enterprises.

#### New Enterprises Are Growing

Current economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Cuba encompasses literally every branch of the republic's economy. Particular attention is devoted to the development of those industries which have the greatest significance for the country's economy. These include electric power engineering, machine building, metallurgy, the nickel and sugar industries and the production of building materials.

In accordance with the 1976 agreement, the Maximo Gomez Thermal Electric Power Plant is being expanded to give it a capacity of 600 megawatts, and the Rente power plant is being brought up to 500 megawatts. The Jose Marti Metallurgical Plant is being expanded through joint efforts.

Renovation work is being carried out at existing nickel plants in Nicaro and Moa; they will have as a result a total capacity of 46,500 tons of nickel-cobalt production per year; a new nickel plant with a capacity 30,000 tons of nickel-containing output per year is being built in Punta Gorda. Work has started on the construction of the first section of the oil refinery in Cienfuegos; renovations are under way at the existing refineries--the Nico Lopez in Havana and the Hermanos Dias in Santiago de

Cuba. Construction has started on a combine to produce lubricating materials in Santiago de Cuba. The renovation of enterprises in the petroleum refining industry will make it possible to increase the petroleum refining capacity to 4.5 million tons per year.

In machine building joint work is being carried out at nine sites which include the following: an auto repair plant in Santa Clara, designed for the repair of 2,600 diesel trucks and 1,500 engines per year, a plant in Santiago de Cuba to repair 4,000 gasoline-powered trucks and engines per year, a unit to produce 3,000 trailers to transport sugar cane, a plant for the repair of road building equipment and an auto-repair plant named in honor of Cuban-Soviet friendship (the auto repair plant is undergoing renovation). In 1977 a plant for the production of 600 sugar cane harvesting combines a year was put into operation.

In the sugar industry cooperation is being carried out at 25 sites, including the renovation of 21 sugar plants, the expansion of the machine building base to establish production of centrifuges, rotary pumps, piston compressors, hauling chains, steam boilers, lifting and transport equipment and freight cars. Renovation of the sugar plants will make it possible to increase the capacity to process sugar cane by 22,300 tons per day.

In Havana and Santiago de Cuba two major enterprises of light industry are being built: the Balans Spinning Mill and a textile combine with the capacity of 80 million square meters of cloth and 1,000 tons of yarn per year. In addition, seven textile enterprises are being renovated. Four factories have been renovated already; they are in operation and at the present time they provide the country with more than 50 percent of its cloth and yarn.

In the construction and building-materials industries, joint work is being carried out at more than 20 sites. They include production bases for the construction and installation of industrial enterprises, a plant for the production of reinforced concrete products for housing construction, a crushing and sorting plant, and a plant for the production of metal structures with a capacity of 20,000 tons per year, and other projects.

A great deal of attention is being devoted to the development of transportation and communications in Cuba. By February 1980 more than 500 kilometers of railway lines had been renovated and put into operation in Cuba.

There has been joint work in the area of land irrigation and drainage since 1963. Since then the area of irrigated land has increased from 62,000 to 823,000 hectares, and water reservoirs with a total capacity of more than 5 billion cubic meters have been built.

### **A Qualitatively New Stage**

Cuba's participation in the international socialist division of labor intensifies as the country's economy develops and grows stronger. Deliveries of Cuban goods to the socialist countries grow from year to year. Ores, raw sugar, fruit, rum and cigarettes are the leading Cuban export articles. From 1970 through 1978 shipments of Cuban sugar to the Soviet Union amounted to more than 22 million tons.

A protocol concerning trade turnover between the USSR and Cuba for the year 1980 was signed on 23 April in Moscow. The planned trade turnover will amount to more than 4 billion rubles. In accordance with the protocol the USSR will export to Cuba machinery and equipment, petroleum and petroleum products, ferrous and nonferrous metals, forestry products, foodstuffs and a number of other goods. Cuba will supply sugar, nickel-containing products, citrus and other goods.

Cuba's entry into CEMA in 1972 marked the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in the development of its economic relations with the socialist countries. This stage is characterized primarily by the expansion of cooperation on a multilateral basis. Cuba participates in many of the measures stipulated by the long-range, special purpose programs of cooperation adopted by the 32d and 33d CEMA sessions. In 1979 the Republic of Cuba, having signed an agreement concerning the construction of the Mozyr' Fodder Yeast Plant in the USSR, joined in the work of establishing a facility beyond its borders through the joint efforts of the interested fraternal countries.

The expansion and intensification of economic and scientific-technical ties between the two states constitutes an important contribution to the strengthening of economic interaction among the countries of the socialist community.

8543

CSO: 1825

## 'BOHEMIA' REPORTS ON USSR ADVISERS, AID

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 2 May 80 pp 38-42

[Article by Manuel Gonzalez Bello: "Technicians, Friends, and Something More"]

[Text] I am in Holguin and a Soviet specialist who has completed his period of service in Cuba is getting ready to go back home. His comrades have organized a simple farewell party to which I am invited. So great is the atmosphere of fraternization that once at the gathering, the guest of honor cannot tell whether he is at a party given by Soviets for Cubans or vice versa. Lev Lebedev, secretary of the Soviet party at the KTP-1 sugar cane combine factory, smilingly tells me in Spanish, "As you can see, we not only share our work, but our rest and play as well. This helps us to have better human relations, something that in the long run helps us to work better."

Scenes like these are not difficult to find. When visiting different places, one observes that the Soviet and Cuban technicians are truly brothers and in daily life, their ties become an obvious expression of friendship between peoples.

This fraternal bond began dozens of years ago, but it was reaffirmed on 8 May 1960, when the governments of the Soviet Union and Cuba decided to restore diplomatic relations. Three months before, a trade and payment agreement had been signed. In addition to these and other official ceremonies are the bonds that have served and continue to serve as a model of understanding based on essential common interests.

Since that time, thousands of men and women have come from the Soviet Union to make their contribution to Cuban development.

Viktor A. Zaria, deputy adviser for economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the USSR Embassy in Cuba, puts it this way:

"The first stage in this cooperation involved the training and education of cadres and the teaching of the highest degree of scientific and technical



knowledge in the USSR. The purpose was to enable Cubans, using their Soviet experience, to develop the different branches of the national economy."

Soviet technical assistance has materialized in such important branches as the electrical industry, petrochemistry, the merchant marine, the sugar industry, agriculture and livestock raising. Specialists from the USSR also provide advice for application of the economic management and training program in our country.

In order to provide the reader with an idea of the scope of the undertaking, at the present time, 34 ministries in the USSR are cooperating with their Cuban colleagues, in addition to over 100 institutes. As a result of these ties, some 250 technical projects are being drafted and completed.

### Eastern Region

It is almost impossible to make a comparison between the situation 20 years ago and the current conditions in the eastern region of the country. The projects there are the reflection of a country in the midst of full development. It can be said that the intelligence and helping hand of Soviet engineers and technical personnel are present in economic progress to date and in the development of the future.

Some 700 specialists from the USSR are now working in the five eastern provinces.

In Holguin, they help with the operation of the KTP-1 sugar cane combine factory, which went into operation in July 1977. In this case, the basic objective of the advice given is to bring the industry, of obvious importance to our economy, to the maximum capacity provided for in the plan.

This year, the province plans to build trailers for agricultural equipment from a machinery plant going up based on a Bulgarian project.

At the same time, a group of technicians is working on hydraulic facilities, dikes and dams.

However, Soviet technical assistance is most evident in the Moa mining region. Without the help of the USSR, it would be impossible to carry out the ambitious plans for the production of nickel in that location.

At the present time, Soviet experts are working to restore the Pedro Sotto Alba plant and are involved in construction of the new Punta Gorda plant, which will have a capacity of 30,000 metric tons annually.

Concrete results of Soviet assistance can already be observed, as in the case of the new facilities at the port of Moa, a support base and other projects being carried out.

At the same time, geologists from the USSR are working on mineral exploration and prospecting and are surveying for the future CAME 1 nickel plant.

In the meantime, preparations are underway for construction of an iron and steel plant at Nicaro and a metallurgical combine between that location and Mayari.

Simultaneously, in Las Tunas Province, Soviet specialists are providing advice for construction of a metal structure plant that will go into operation this year with a capacity of 20,000 tons.

Of undeniable importance to the national economy is the Rente thermoelectric plant, now being expanded with the advice of the USSR.

Another collective, also in Santiago de Cuba, is helping with construction of a lubricant mixing plant, part of which will go into operation this year.

Other experts are providing advice for the big textile combine in that city, which will produce 80 million square meters of fabric a year and provide work for 6,000 persons.

The Soviets are carrying out many missions in the eastern provinces, and one cannot fail to mention the geologists who, not only in Moa, work under extremely difficult conditions. Their brigade works 24-hour shifts in the mountains, far from the cities, and they live a semi-nomadic life. Their work is of inestimable value and the results will be seen in the future, when one sees the development of mining in the eastern region of the country.

#### Not Only Economic Projects

Soviet advice is not limited to the field of the economy, but extends to education, culture and sports.

In 1963, the first teachers from the USSR arrived in Cuba to give classes in the exact sciences. The following year, more came to teach social sciences and give lectures on sociopolitical and socioeconomic topics.

At the present time, the number of teachers from the Soviet Union is over 100 in the 12 centers under the Ministry of Higher Education. They are basically involved in teaching and the preparation of teaching methods in the different disciplines.

At all levels of the Ministry of Higher Education, including the central organization, Soviet specialists are providing their assistance.

A large number are in the preparatory schools, where students who will study in universities of the USSR take courses for a year. These schools exist in the universities of Havana, Las Villas, Camaguey and Oriente. Teachers at the centers give classes in Russian and the basic cycle, meaning mathematics, physics and chemistry.

Another valuable contribution is serving as advisers to Cuban professionals defending their doctoral theses, which 70 have already done.

At the present time, cooperation in the spheres of higher and intermediate-level education, pedagogy, the professions and other areas involves over 300 professors.

Soviets are also helping in the field of culture, serving as advisers and teachers in art schools and sports.

In addition, the USSR's cooperation with Cuba can be observed in science, medicine and other fields of social activity.

### Present and Future

As the years go by, the very development of the Cuban economy has required increasing cooperation in all facets and the presence of a greater number of technicians, engineers and other specialists. The following figures are eloquent: In 1976, 1,200 technicians were working in Cuba, and by the end of 1979, the figure had risen to 2,500. The figure may go even higher this year.

While the aid given to our country has been so great throughout the revolutionary period, assistance from the USSR continues to be equally great now and may extend to other large-scale projects in the future, where Soviet efforts and dedication will be visible.

In accordance with existing agreements, because of their importance to the national economy, the basic branches where cooperation can be observed are electric power, iron and steel, nickel, oil refining, light industry and transportation.

By way of example, it may be said that Soviets are involved in the rehabilitation of some 20 sugar mills. They are doing important geological work and are helping carry out projects for the coaxial cable between Havana and Santiago.

Nickel naturally occupies an important role in current and future plans. The Punta Gorda plant will go into operation in its first phase in 1981 and will be totally finished in 1982.

With respect to light industry, in addition to the Santiago textile combine, a spinning plant is being built in Havana. It will have a capacity of 15,000 tons of yarn a year and will be completed in 1981.

The Santa Clara machine plant has been a contribution to our economy. However, a Soviet comrade told me that it can be considered as a workshop for the one now being put up in that same place. It is a symbol of the increase in Soviet aid, in close relationship with the development of our country.

The building materials industry, prefabricated elements plants and facilities producing metallic structures and ready-mix concrete are also directions in which work is now going.

Prospective plans include the nuclear energy plant at Cienfuegos, the new refinery in that city, the Nicaro iron and steel plant, the new electric powerplant 45 kilometers east of Havana and other projects of enormous importance in the future socioeconomic progress of Cuba.

Behind all these projects underway and planned for the immediate future are the hands and intelligence of man, the men who from different Soviet republics thousands and thousands of miles away, who have come to this island in the Caribbean with their solidary efforts. One sees them bending over a drawing board, with greasy hands in the workshops, climbing mountains anywhere in Cuba, training athletes, helping doctoral candidates prepare or giving advice on the construction of a dam. Wherever plans for development are found, one also finds the Soviets, with total modesty and immense respect.

Behind all these works of the present and the immediate future is the intelligence of the Cuban specialists, open to knowledge and ready for experience.

Behind them is a friendship that serves as a model, a perfect understanding of those who perform because they are motivated by love, those who give life, those who view solidarity as a bridge to the future.

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CSO: 3010



CARACAS EDITOR REPORTS ON REFUGEES IN PERUVIAN EMBASSY

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 21-27 Apr 80 pp 18-25

[Article by Mariadela Linares: "This Is How the Refugees Live"]

[Text] Our editor-in-chief Mariadela Linares went to Havana and talked to the refugees at the Peruvian embassy; she saw how they lived and she interviewed them about why they wanted to leave the Antillan island.

What happened in Cuba over the past 2 weeks, involving thousands of persons who were seeking asylum in the Embassy of Peru in that country, should not be viewed as a simple and isolated fact. The Caribbean, originally convulsed by the bloody events in Nicaragua, culminating in the fall of the dictator Somoza, the state of civil war currently prevailing in El Salvador, the critical situation in Guatemala, the threat by the United States to dispatch 20,000 Marines to the Caribbean area next month to conduct the military maneuvers there, especially at the military base of Guantanamo in Cuba—these made us realize that the panorama spreading before us is not very clear.

BOHEMIA went to Cuba especially to cover the events taking place on that island. It must be emphasized that we were the only Venezuelan magazine accredited to cover what was happening on the spot.

What We Saw

There is no use denying that what we witnessed at the Embassy of Peru in Havana was depressing. It was depressing because we saw a heterogeneous group of human beings, of both sexes and all ages, people from various professions and others with criminal charges in their record, who were crowding into the gardens and on the roof top of that diplomatic mission.

We could not help but be overcome by the human drama involving hundreds of women and children who were jammed together where you had a mix featuring the honesty of a simple worker who wanted to go because he had relatives on the outside and a vicious criminal who wanted to escape from Cuban justice.

We talked to hundreds of them. The youngest ones (the majority of the refugees was under 40) wanted to go because they were tempted by the attractions of a world they did not know, a world that looked to be full of fun and luxury and many consumer articles, in other words, they were attracted by the delights of capitalism. A minority of young Cubans did not like the "blue-jeans" made in Cuba, in spite of the fact that they are of good quality and do not in any way differ from ours and they prefer those which have English or French labels behind.

The adults want to go because many of them have families living in Miami and other countries. For the past 2 years, Cuba has been promoting weekly group flights to enable the exiles to visit their relatives who are still in Cuba and the exiles of course wanted to get together with them. A few told this newperson of their dissent which revealed a profoundly ideological content. Naturally, they do not like socialism. Many stated that they had no profound criticism of the Cuban regime but they simply wanted to go because they did not agree with the way of life they were forced to lead under a regime which must restrict liberties in order to protect itself.

Our visit to the embassy coincided with the moment when the first thousand refugees, provided with permanent passes, began to leave the embassy compound. These safe-conduct passes, which will be used later on to provide documentary support for passports, were given on a priority basis to family groups, workers, and professional men. Criminals who, according to the exiles themselves, managed to get into the compound, will not be able to leave the country.

Throughout the entire time the refugees spent in the compound and the time it took to get them out, Cuba--rather precariously, if we consider the disorder prevailing inside and the large number of people seeking asylum--tried to supply them with food and water, latrines, and medical assistance. All of them looked very dirty, they smelled bad, and they were tired. Numerous disputes broke out among them. The criminals stole the property which the families had brought along; multitudes came to blows over food and quite logically their nerves, the hot sun, and impatience created a state of tension which at times became very dangerous.

Fortunately, the idea of giving them safe-conduct passes, so that they were able to go back to their homes and wait for some country to give them visas, prevented the continuation of this inhuman situation.

#### Why Did They Want To Go?

When it comes to political asylum, Cuba has beaten a world record: 8,000 or 10,000 persons seeking asylum in an embassy is really something to think about. Why did the fact that the doors of an embassy were open produce such a flood of persons seeking asylum?

Of course, no government in the world has the total sympathy of its inhabitants. Not even in Venezuela are all Venezuelans followers of the Social Christian Party, just as not all Chileans are followers of Pinochet and certainly not all Chinese are communists. There is always dissent and there are always various opinion currents.

In Cuba, massive and violent emigration, such as it is taking place now, also happens because there is much red tape to overcome and it is difficult for anybody to get ready to help all citizens of that country or any country who may not be in agreement with their regime. Both Venezuela and Colombia, Mexico or any other Latin American nation would have thought twice if the people, at its embassies in Chile or Cuba, in Brazil or the Soviet Union, were beating on the doors, asking for permission to go to our countries. Our countries have their own problems.

In Cuba, freedom of expression and dissent are restricted. The consolidation of its own system forces the regime to promote this abnormal state of affairs.

The Cuban authorities themselves are aware--and they do not deny it--that there are many thousands more who want to go. Cuba--they assured us--is not against that. "We would prefer to have the other 10 million Cubans who are ready to work for the regime. But what is happening is that nobody wants to join the counterrevolutionaries."

True or not, it is not up to us to determine that; nevertheless, Cuba and the rest of the Latin American countries must promptly find a solution to this problem. Let those who like the Cuban revolution stay in Cuba and let the other nations receive those who do not agree with it.

#### The Other Reality

While, on the one hand, we were worried and depressed by the spectacle of the Cuban dissidents crowding into the embassy compound, we on the other hand experienced organized manifestations intended to express solidarity for the Castro regime.

Daily, at any hour, the streets of Havana were filled with young people, children, men, women, old people, professional men and workers who came out to express their repudiation of the attitude assumed by the "scum" (not all were scum and not all were ragamuffin proletarians) and to demand their immediate departure from the country. "They want to go. Who cares?" They asked. "They are 10,000 but we are 10 million."

#### Cuba Unravelling

Until a few years ago, the Cubans were a poorly dressed people, limited in terms of their actions, restricted in terms of their consumer habits. Now we can see with astonishment that much of this has changed.

In the past, a pair of "blue-jeans," chewing gum, and "Coca-Cola" were typical "articles of imperialist penetration" and their consumption implied "petty-bourgeois deviations."

Now, some of this has changed; or at least, things have begun to change gradually. As in Venezuela or anywhere else in the world, the principal clothing item of the Cuban younger generation is the jean. But they are not really fashionable jeans. They are "boxy," as we call them.

Something similar is happening in the case of music. At any place of recreation, restaurant, or nightclub, you can hear the latest songs of the "Bee-gees" or any other currently popular singer.

In spite of the fact that GRANMA continues to be the rigid official organ of the Cuban Communist Party, we had an opportunity, in looking at the press, to read a weekly magazine which has recently come out and which has the astonishing circulation figure of 450,000 per week. It has nothing to do whatsoever with politics. It talks about modern music, literature, it presents jokes and cartoons, stories on movies, in other words, it is a smooth and nice publication, not fastidious and dogmatic, like the others in Cuba.

A well-known poet, the Nicaraguan Ernesto Cardenal, said that Havana at night is dark because it lacks the big neon signs characterizing the consumer-oriented cities of the capitalist world. Well, Cuba now also has its neon signs; they are not commercial but, with big light bulbs and in color they announce the names of shops, bookstores, ice cream parlors or any other place where something is sold.

What does all this mean? we asked ourselves on various occasions. Is this just a clever tactic by Fidel Castro who is so full of surprises? Or is it the beginning of the Cuban unrevelling, of the big opening?

Something Will Happen, For Better or Worse

For better or worse, what happened at the Embassy of Peru will have its sequels. Starting as of now, and at any moment, big events may happen in the Caribbean area. Cuba is breathing the air of expectation. Just as it is also being breathed in El Salvador and Guatemala.

In the meantime, everything continues to be calm at the Embassy of Venezuela in Cuba. Waiting.



#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

[p 22] The safe-conduct passes which the Cuban government issued so that refugees might go back to their homes.

[p 23] The Embassy of Venezuela is quite calm even though it is located only 200 meters from the Embassy of Peru. Out of respect for international standards involving the right of asylum, we were unable to interview the eight Cubans who had found asylum inside. The Venezuelan foreign office did not permit it.

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CSO:3010

# SENDIP REPORTS ON NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p A-3

[Text] During its 8-month administration, the democratic regime has begun to implement programs of vast importance to the nation's development, asserts SENDIP [National Secretariat of Public Information] in a document released to the nation's press.

According to the report, programs are being carried out through the various ministries and decentralized institutions that will tend toward solving the great problems of illiteracy, malnutrition, housing, the highway system, industrial development, unemployment and so on.

## A Total of 1,000 Kilometers of Highway

In the first quarter of this year, studies began at the Ministry of Public Works and Communications for the construction of 1,000 kilometers of roads. Bids are currently being taken on the \$4.7 billion project and all contracts should be awarded by next May.

## Social Security

This program encompasses a medical services infrastructure entailing the construction of four general hospitals--two in Quito and two in Guayaquil--as well as regional hospitals in Riobamba, Latacunga, Ambato, Loja, Esmeraldas, Manta, Portoviejo, Milagro and Huaquillas. More than 68 dispensaries will be built throughout the country so that everyone who is affiliated with the program may receive treatment.

Some of these hospitals are currently under construction and others are in the planning stage. The projects, which will cost approximately 6 billion sucres, will be in service within 24 to 48 months.

Also, in August of 1979 construction began on 10,000 housing units. They will be completed in this 5-year period at a total cost of 12 billion sucres.

## Milk for 70,000 People

A program to double the Ministry of Public Health's milk distribution plan which currently benefits 70,000 people (mothers and children) is planned for this year. Beginning in 1980, this nutritional program will include 140,000 people, who will receive oatmeal gruel prepared from powdered milk, oats and soybeans.

Another project entails the construction of health centers in order to expand the national coverage of medical services in rural and urban areas. The various studies, which began in 1979, have now been completed and the project is now ready to be implemented.

Next month, construction will begin on more than 70 auxiliary health centers and over 300 health stations. This project will last 3 or 4 years and, in addition to the construction, will include preparation and training of personnel, equipment and so on. Through this program, medical attention will reach over 700,000 people in the nation. Its cost will be \$17.6 million, which is equivalent to 440 million sucres.

## Education

Another project that deserves special emphasis is the educational infrastructure project. It encompasses school construction, equipment, special buildings, sports facilities, metallic structures, maintenance and furniture. Expenditures for this plan will amount to 1,168,800,000 sucres in 1980. We should also note the plan to strengthen vocational-technical education at the intermediate level of the diversified cycle. Tentative plans call for the project to begin in July of this year, and various steps have been taken since last August, such as acquiring financing from abroad. The project is of a national nature, since the 29 participating private secondary schools are distributed throughout the country. The estimated cost of the project and foreign financing breaks down as follows: total estimated cost, \$35,758,052, including foreign exchange expenditures of \$17,863,542.

The school breakfast program began on 4 February 1980 in the provinces of La Sierra and Oriente and will begin on the coast next May. Two phases are anticipated within this program, the purpose of which is to contribute to the integral development of the Ecuadorean student. Consequently, it is hoped to improve the indices of nutrition, general health, performance, promotion and retention of students, as well as to achieve community participation in programs of social interest. In the first phase, covering 1980, breakfast will be provided to 400,000 students, as follows: 200,000 on the Coast and in the Galapagos; 180,000 in Sierra and 20,000 in Oriente.

In the second phase, from 1980 to 1984, a total of 5,606,300 students will be served, between rural and urban schools. The state's share in implementing the aforementioned program in 1980 amounts to 91 million sucres.

In January of 1980, the Ministry of Education began the National Literacy Program, which will end in July 1984. The proposed goal is to teach 760,000 Ecuadorians to read within the space of five years. These are people over 15 years of age who did not receive the benefits of a regular educational system at the proper time. This program anticipates the organization of 15,000 literacy centers, 4,000 in the urban areas and 11,000 in rural areas.

So far, the following actions have been taken: organization of the National Literacy Council; administrative, technical and functional organization of the Office of Literacy and of the provincial offices, organization of 19 Provincial Literacy Councils, division of the country into zones and determination of priority areas; selection of 4,000 rural communities and 300 urban neighborhoods for launching the literacy campaign; selection of national, provincial and district promoters and literacy teachers in rural, urban and suburban areas; training of personnel; designing 5,500 literacy and popular culture courses which will begin to operate during the first week of May, with the attendance of 137,000 literacy teachers; and regulations governing the students' participation in the campaign in aspects related to creating an awareness of the idea and promoting it among the people, community development, cultural extension, the task of teaching and the preparation of materials.

The total cost of the plan is 1.14 million sucres, which means an investment of 1,500 sucres per literacy student.

#### Ministry of Natural Resources and Energy

Through the Ministry of Natural Resources and Energy, the national government is intensifying oil exploration areas in order to find new hydrocarbon-bearing reserves, which will increase national production. At the same time, it encompasses mining, fishing and electrification programs.

Thus, construction will begin on the Agoyan hydroelectric power project in November of 1980. Bids are currently being solicited and the completion date is scheduled for October of 1984.

In this second major hydroelectric power generation project--to benefit the whole country through a national interconnected electrical power network--the dam and engine room will be built and generators installed, etcetera. Its total cost will be 4,807,700,000 sucres.

Another project related to the petroleum industry is the construction of the 270-kilometer Pastaza provincial highway. Begun in February 1980, it will be completed in March 1982. The purpose of constructing this highway penetrating Oriente province is to incorporate potential new oil-bearing fields into national production. It will cost 500 million sucres.



We should also mention the construction of the new Esmeraldas state refinery, which is scheduled for completion in October 1981. With an investment of \$60 million, the project will help to achieve a production of 75,000 barrels of oil and supply the domestic market with fuels.

Also, with regard to gas from the Gulf of Guayaquil, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Energy plans to incorporate the Amistad Field and lay a gas pipeline to Guayaquil to supply gas to the whole region. Drilling equipment is presently being sought and the project will cost 500 million sucres.

Another project is the incorporation of the Bermejo, Charapa, Sansaguari and Cuyaveno fields into national production for an expected yield of 50,000 barrels of oil a day. An investment of approximately 5 billion sucres is anticipated.

Regarding electrification, INECEL [Ecuadorean Electrification Institute] began to promote a national interconnected electrical power system in August of 1979. The purpose of the project is to build the main networks and interconnect the nation's electrical system. The investment in this project will total 7.5 billion sucres.

The Paute project, the largest now being built in Ecuador, also received the necessary impetus beginning on 10 August.

It has been proposed, as part of this foremost large hydroelectric power project, to initiate work on the Daniel Palacios Izquierdo dam. Later, work will continue on the engine room and installation of generators, etcetera, covering stations A and B. It is expected to be completed between October 1982 and July 1983.

Phase C of the project will begin in July 1981 and will be finished between June 1985 and August 1987.

Some 13,697,000,000 sucres will be invested in the first two phases of this project, while phase C will require an investment of 6,205,000,000 sucres.

#### Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock

Since assuming power, the present government has delivered 73,782 hectares to the colonization plan, through 30 March 1980, and 86,018 hectares in the agrarian reform plan, totaling 159,801 hectares in all.

In the plan issued for 1980, the delivery of 216,706 hectares to agrarian reform and 201,000 hectares to colonization is envisioned, plus 8,784 hectares, according to Decree 1,001, which totals 426,490 hectares. Of these, 20,982 hectares were delivered in Azuay and Canar last 21 March, benefitting 827 families of nearly 5,000 people. Also, 24,700 hectares in the province of Loja are ready to be turned over to agrarian reform, tenta-

tively by 22 April 1980. Also, 30,000 hectares are ready to be turned over for colonization in the province of Zamora, Chinchipe, and delivery will be made by the end of this month. We would emphasize that the amount of land being turned over in just this one year equals 20 percent of all the land delivered in the past 15 years.

#### National Housing Board

This agency has prepared a national housing program and a 3-Year Plan for the construction of 100,000 housing units throughout the country. These will be finished by 1984. Of the total homes, 10,000 will be built in the city of Guayaquil, which will have the distinction of being the largest program in the history of Equadorean housing. Bids are presently being solicited and the firm or firms that will take charge of carrying out the project are being evaluated. The project will be finished during 1980-81.

Rural housing programs are also being emphasized. These will be developed jointly with the Integrated Rural Development Programs. The People's Housing Program is another government aspiration which anticipates delivery of 12,000 housing units throughout the country this year. These programs will require investments of approximately 20.5 billion sucres during the 3-year period; 14 billion sucres for people's housing and 7 billion sucres for rural housing.

#### CEDEGE [Study Commission for the Development of the Guayas Basin]

Finally, concludes the SENDIP report, we have the outstanding multi-purpose Daule Peripa project, which will be completed in another 6 years. Its basic objectives are the following: to store water to irrigate 50,000 hectares in the lower Daule River valley between Colinas and Petril; to divert water from the Daule River to the Santa Elena peninsula for the irrigation and agricultural development of 50,000 hectares; flood control and water supply for urban consumption for Guayaquil and all the cities along the banks of the Daule River.

8631

CSO: 3010

REASONS FOR NOT ACCEPTING CUBAN REFUGEES EXPLAINED

San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 18 Apr 80 p 6

[Commentary: "Immigration Is Beneficial for Large Countries"]

[Text] Countries with large areas are the ones which benefit from immigration, no matter how great the volume, because all that human power and human intelligence stimulate development and progress, according to the thinking of international commentators.

At the present time, they say, in spite of an unmistakable and astonishing increase in population, there remain in the world a number of countries with vast territories, still in a primitive state, in which the denseness of the forests has hampered the penetration of the light of civilization. Difficult as it is to believe, the explorers assure us that one can travel through the jungle for months without finding even a trace of human life. Of course in talking about these uncivilized lands, they add, it is not necessary to think about Africa, Asia and Oceania, because such seemingly infinite spaces are here in America.

This means that the surface of the earth is to a surprising degree divided unequally among the nations and protectorates which compose it, and therefore the human race should be distributed in proportion to each country's area.

The problem of the resettlement of refugees ranges from the primitive migrations down to the present conflicts in Indochina, there being fresh in our minds the wanderings of the unfortunate Vietnamese whom nobody wants to receive, leaving them to perish in the waters of the ocean.

The commentators also recall the refugees resulting from World War II who daily left Europe by the thousands in search of receptive soils in democratic countries. In the movie newsreels of that period one saw boats loaded with war victims arriving on American beaches. As was natural, the largest and strongest countries of the continent absorbed the most immigrants: the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and so forth.

At this moment thousands of Cubans are in need of receptive soils, anywhere on earth, in order to leave the communist Cuba of the Castro brothers. Some countries have begun to receive them and others are awaiting the arrival of the number of persons they have accepted; but that is not enough. The United States will accept only 3,500 because they already have several hundreds of thousands in Miami and other cities. Brazil and Argentina, as well as Canada, could accept the rest so that the Cuban refugees would not have to leave the hemisphere.

As for countries with small territories, like this country, it is easy to understand why there is no capacity to absorb more human beings. El Salvador is a densely populated country, almost disproportionately populated, they say, and although it may have generous intentions, reality suggests that its small territory should be primarily for the Salvadorans who will keep on increasing in number every day. It should be taken into account, they indicate, that families who immigrate into a country remain there permanently because children begin to be born with a new nationality which the elders eventually adopt.

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CSO: 3010



COUNTRY'S TRADE WITH COSTA RICA DISCUSSED

Reasons for Continuing Trade

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 24 Apr 80 p 7

[Editorial: "Costa Rican Decision Would Have Been Ill-Advised"]

[Text] The closing of the Costa Rican border to imports of Salvadoran products would have been out of all proportion.

A few days ago the Costa Rican press reported on this and speculated on the possibility that a decree might be issued to this effect. This report caused some concern in commercial, economic, political and integrationist circles. Plainly speaking, the closing of the frontier would not only have ended the practice of free trade, a vital factor in the integrationist plan, but would also have set a precedent of unpredictable consequences.

The abrupt action was to be taken on the basis of the delay of which some Salvadoran merchants had reportedly been guilty, since due to special circumstances in this country they had not been able to pay on time the bills for merchandise imported from Costa Rica.

Since there was no alternative, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of El Salvador intervened in the affair and published an analysis of the situation.

The arguments presented are worthy of careful consideration and their clarity demonstrates what an elephantine course--pardon the expression--the Minister of Economy of Costa Rica rashly intended to adopt.

In cases such as this it is impossible not to comment. The few thousand dollars which did not reach their owners on time is not what is involved. Private interests are not what is involved. What is involved is the strength which the concept of regional integration must or should have. What is involved is the vision which must or should be held of the future of Central America as a whole. What is involved is the spirit of cooperation which must or should be exhibited by all Central American peoples under all circumstances.

Incidents such as the one we are commenting on must or should be out of place in dealing, as we are dealing, with countries which will some day be called upon to form a single entity.

#### Value of Trade Reported

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 24 Apr 80 p 7

[Editorial: "Increased Costa Rican-Salvadoran Trade"]

[Text] Commercial trade between Costa Rica and El Salvador would be plotted on a graph as a line which has been rising steadily for more than 7 years.

It is true that during those 7 years the trade balance has been favorable to El Salvador, but it is a significant fact that the absolute value of Costa Rican exports on the Salvadoran market has shown a constant increase. Let us see what has happened to Costa Rican exports to El Salvador. According to official statistics, Costa Rican merchants exported to El Salvador goods worth \$12.693 million in 1972. In 1973 it was \$17.42 million. In 1974 it rose to \$25.126 million. In 1975 it continued rising and hit \$26.816 million. In 1976 the amount was \$33.818 million. In 1977 it rose to \$47.359 million, and between January and October 1978 it was \$39.65 million.

It is possible that the Salvadoran market will continue to be very important for Costa Rica's intraregional trade.

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CSO: 3010

FOREIGN MINISTER: COUNTRY TO BE NONALINED

San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 23 Apr 80 pp 3, 37

[Text] Salvadoran Foreign Minister Dr Fidel Chavez Mena has stated that El Salvador will become a militant new member of the "nonalined nations" and will establish diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist countries.

The above is part of the restructuring which the foreign policy of our country will undergo when the reorganization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is implemented. He also said that foreign service officers will have to be propagators of the country's policy and active promoters of international economic relations.

It is expected that the International Fair and the Salvadoran Institute of Tourism will be incorporated into the Foreign Ministry when it is reorganized. The International Fair will promote national industrial exports at international events in which it participates and will project the country's image; the Salvadoran Institute of Tourism will have as its primary purpose the promotion of services and tourism, in other words it will promote our country as a tourist attraction, publicizing abroad in a rational manner what El Salvador has to offer.

Minister Chavez Mena explained the study which is to be done and said that the Foreign Ministry will have two far-reaching activities: on the one hand to make known our international policy all over the world, and on the other to promote and seek the expansion of our country's economy. It will have to seek technical assistance. Dr Chavez Mena explained that under the new plan a policy which is coordinated with that of the Andean Pact countries will be worked out and an attempt will be made to strengthen ties with EEC countries.

He pointed out that on a regional level he will try to reactivate the OCAS [Organization of Central American States] and to revitalize the Central American Common Market. He also stressed that the new plan looks at the population problem, including migration, with respect to which agreements and treaties will be negotiated with those countries which have large vacant areas and are in need of human resources. He said that the Salvadoran people's mobility will be organized in an orderly manner.

PEACEFUL PARTICIPATION IN 20 APRIL ELECTIONS URGED

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 11 Apr 80 p 7

[Commentary: "The Peaceful Path"]

[Text] So much has been written on the situation in Latin America, Central America and Honduras that if we were trying to compile an economic, social, political and cultural anthology on the subcontinent, it would take a space no smaller than the U.S. Library of Congress to house all the books, studies, analyses, diagnoses and proposals that have been written on this rich and complex topic.

There was a time that, looking back with our present hindsight, we might call bucolic, when the schools taught that our countries were rich in natural resources, but that these resources were unexploited, untouched, waiting for the hand of man and the corresponding technology to convert these reserves into consumer goods and products for export, bringing in abundance and wealth for all.

That time, which Freire would call a time of naivete, has gone. Now the schools--no matter what their ideology--explain to their students that our countries, despite the resources which they may still have left, have lost much of their original wealth due to a policy of concessions granted to international economic groups which for many years have worked on mining, agricultural, or similar activities, intensively exploiting the region's soil and subsoil, but bringing little or no benefit to the peoples of the region.

Now people are gradually becoming more conscious of the extreme poverty, the lack of sanitary conditions, the illiteracy, and the other plagues generated by underdevelopment; there is also a growing collective determination to fight against these scourges of humanity which, in the specific case of Central America, strike with greatest force against the peasant masses and the poor who live in urban poverty belts.



In essence, the diagnosis is clear. Honduras, as part of the isthmus and of the subcontinent, suffers from the same disease: underdevelopment and dependence.

The diagnosis is clear. The nature of the disease has been perfectly described. The disagreement arises not at the time of describing the nature of the illness, but when there is an attempt to reach agreement on the medicine to be used to treat this condition.

At this point two positions arise: one position supported by those of us who believe that the problems of our peoples may be handled efficiently and fully resolved within the framework of democracy and freedom. The second position is taken by those who say that the only way to abolish these evils is a violent revolution, the state takeover of business, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, and finally, totalitarianism.

The first course advocates tolerance, free competition, class collaboration, progressive evolution and social change without any erosion of human rights.

The second postulates collectivism, intolerance, class warfare, violent transformation and an assault on all those rights of the human being that are opposed to the domination of social life by the state apparatus and by a single-party system.

In the specific situation we have now, the peaceful course has the backing of three political parties: the liberals, the PINU [Innovation and Unity Party], and the nationalists. The democratic union organizations and private enterprise also advocate this course.

On the other side are the small but vocal leftist groups, led by the minuscule Communist Party which follows the Soviet line; these groups reject the peaceful course and for that reason, are trying to persuade the people not to vote on 20 April.

Fortunately for Honduras, Marxism finds no credibility among us, after the atrocities committed in Afghanistan, in Cambodia, in the USSR itself, and above all, after the scandal and infamy of the massive exodus of 10,000 refugees who have sought asylum in the embassy of Peru, calling for freedom. These events have opened the eyes of the people and destroyed the enchantment that was at one time created by the well-orchestrated propaganda of international totalitarianism.

Participating in the constituent elections on 20 April means choosing the course of peace. It means beginning the process of the restoration of law and of all our freedoms, especially the access to power of the single legitimate sovereign--the people.

For that reason, LA PRENSA calls on all responsible citizens of Honduras not to remain at home on election day but to go to the polls early in the day of this historic event that will open the doors to our new nation.

Furthermore, this paper wants to emphasize that the National Constituent Assembly has a single task: to draft the new constitution.

The election of the president of the republic is up to the people who will have to exercise this inalienable right by their universal, secret and direct ballots once the constitution is ratified and promulgated, and after the new election law has taken effect.

And finally, it is essential that all of us understand that the new government must fight against one of the most destructive factors of power: corruption. This is not the exclusive patrimony of our nation; it is found in all parts of the world, but it has apparently begun to grow in an unrestrained and dangerous way in our midst, to such an extent that it threatens to undermine fatally the bases of society and of the state.

In conclusion: for the good of our children, for our development, for the eradication of poverty, for the conquest of well-being and justice, we must commit ourselves actively to the course of freedom and peace, by voting on 20 April, and immediately after that, by preparing ourselves to include all responsible parties and social forces in the achievement of the second phase of this course--the election of the president.

Only in this way will we be faithful to the inheritance of our forefathers and can we lay the bases for a solid, participatory, and modern democracy, a democracy that may serve as an example to Central America and a mirror in which the other peoples of the isthmus may see their own struggles reflected, with respect and a spirit of emulation, for these peoples are also struggling between immobility and terror on a daily basis.

## HONDURAS

### PAZ GARCIA'S ELECTION EVE SPEECH ON ROLE OF MILITARY

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 17 Apr 80 p 56

[Speech by Gen Policarpo Paz García, president of the Ruling Junta, over national radio and television on 16 April 1980]

[Text] The president of the military government junta and chief of the armed forces, Gen Policarpo Paz García, last night addressed the following message to the people of Honduras on the national radio and television channel.

My fellow citizens:

On 20 April the people of Honduras will go to the polls to elect deputies to the National Constituent Assembly, in accordance with the decree dated 1 December 1979 that was issued by the National Elections Tribunal, based on the express mandate of the law on elections and political organizations.

This is being done in fulfillment of the pledge made by the armed forces of Honduras to lead the nation to a regime of law; to guide the election process, the military government has not spared any resources, nor has it failed to give its total support to the organizations that have been appointed by law for this purpose. In this way the government and the armed forces have fulfilled their part of this responsibility. It is well known and clearly understood that the responsibility for the correct proceeding of the elections in the form and terms established by law is shared equally by the state, the political parties, and all the citizens of Honduras. Consequently, having complied and promised to continue to comply with this obligation, today I am calling on the patriotism of the leaders of the political parties and of the Honduran people in general to try to remain within the rule of law and to take all the steps deemed suitable for the

popular elections so that these elections may constitute a true civic celebration; this is the general aspiration of all sectors of Honduran society.

As soon as the first steps leading to the elections to be held on 20 April were taken, the government and high command of the armed forces publicly stated in all national and international forums, their firm intention to guarantee the absolute impartiality of the members of the armed institute, and their most fervent desire that the citizens may make use of their right to choose freely their future leaders within a climate of civic maturity, serenity, and political responsibility.

In emphasizing the impartiality of the armed forces in the election process, let us state once again our refusal to take part in election organizations or to make decisions that could have involved members of the armed forces in activities outside of our constitutional obligation; for that reason the armed forces and government junta turned over the responsibility for the organization and leadership of the election process to sectors representative of public opinion and to the Supreme Court of Justice, which have formed the organizations responsible for the holding of the elections within the framework of the law.

The inclusion or exclusion of political sectors from this process has been an activity completely outside of the responsibility of the armed forces and the military government junta, whose fundamental role has been to provide the material and moral resources required by the National Elections Tribunal and to take the appropriate steps so that public officials and employees may be kept on, unaffected by this law.

People of Honduras:

I am turning to you in my dual capacity as leader of the armed forces and as president of the Supreme Council of the armed forces in order to state emphatically the official position of this institution which I represent, on the following points.

1. The only commitment and the only mission that the armed forces of Honduras have are those derived from the sovereign decision of this people.
2. The armed forces understand that the future National Constituent Assembly will be empowered to draft a new



constitution and to make decisions concerning the organization of state powers.

3. Despite the preceding points, the armed forces of Honduras state categorically that neither Gen Policarpo Paz Garcia nor any other member of our institution are encouraging proposals, nor have they any desire to be elected by the National Constituent Assembly for the forthcoming constitutional period.

4. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces believes that for the election of the constitutional president of the republic, the people of Honduras should be explicitly called upon to vote in first degree elections, so that all the citizens may have the opportunity and the right to take part in the selection of their top authorities.

People of Honduras:

In accordance with this clear, impartial, honest, and disinterested conduct on the part of the armed forces of Honduras, we believe that we have the highest moral authority to call upon the people of Honduras to go to the polls with enthusiasm and full confidence, and to express their firm and absolute political decision with their sovereign vote.

We call upon the patriotism of each citizen, and in particular upon the patriotism of the political leaders of the community to carry out their civic duty with great prudence and calmness, with absolute confidence in the pledge made by the armed forces institute. Protected by these strong and categorical commitments and under the protection of the all-powerful God, the armed forces of Honduras are ready to continue fulfilling their constitutional obligation to further the maintenance of the regime of law, peace and public order in our nation.

My best wishes to my fellow citizens.

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SUAZO CORDOVA INTERVIEWED ON PLH VICTORY

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p 4

[Excerpts of interview with PLH leader Dr Roberto Suazo Cordova, in La Paz, Honduras, on 20 April 1980, by reporter Juan Bosco Campos]

[Text] We offer our readers excerpts of a lengthy interview given in La Paz by Dr Roberto Suazo Cordova to our reporter Juan Bosco Campos a few hours after the polls closed last 20 April. His comments when the first news of the partial election results made it possible to see clearly the liberal triumph were as follows:

"Despite all the obstacles that we found in the documentation process and the IBM computation system, up to now the PLH [Liberal Party of Honduras] is scoring successes in the different departments of the country. Liberals must view this success with humility because there shall be no victors and no vanquished, but only Hondurans who dearly love our beloved country, Honduras."

"The great satisfaction that I have received this day can be compared only to the one I received in October 1954 when I obtained the degree of Medical Doctor and Surgeon in the auditorium of the University of San Carlos in Guatemala. The best reward that my beloved people of La Paz have given me has been the total success that we have had here in the city of La Paz, where we got 3,309 votes for the first time in history. I am deeply moved by the liberals' response in the department of La Paz and I want to take advantage of this moment to send to all my most eternal thanks for this support."

[Question] Dr Cordova, do you believe that this electoral process was clean, straight and honest?

[Answer] Up to now, according to press reports, it has been an honest process; we are waiting for official reports from Tegucigalpa, since I am answering on behalf of the sector that corresponds to the 5th Infantry Battalion, led by Col Danilo Ferrera Suazo, who has known how to safeguard

the electoral process, as well as for reports from Marcala, where Col Victorio Sanchez has also safeguarded the process.

I also want to acknowledge the attitude of the chief of the armed forces and current head of the Governing Junta, Brig Gen Policarpo Paz Garcia, and to all the other commanders and officers who form the Higher Council of the Armed Forces, since they promised, and have carried out with honor, loyalty and sacrifice, to guarantee the electoral process of Honduras, to have free, just and honest elections and to refrain from becoming instruments of oppression against the very Honduran people that love them and respect them; as president of the Central Executive Council I want to make public my recognition for the attitude assumed by the army and I exhort the country's liberals to view this success with humility.

[Question] How do you see the PINU [Innovation and Unity Party] defeat?

[Answer] I cannot give an opinion because I do not like to get involved in the private lives of either political parties or persons. They campaigned nationally and do not seem to have obtained the success they expected; we have always said that here in Honduras the two parties, the Liberal and the National parties, represent 90 percent of national opinion.

[Question] Do you believe the recent statements by attorney Reina of the ALIPO [Liberal People's Alliance] contributed to the massive triumph that you are seeing at this moment?

[Answer] The Liberal Party has always been fundamentally united at the rank and file level. The quibbling that has existed has been mostly among the leaders in Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula and the editorial council of the TIEMPO newspaper which, headed by its director, initiated, is continuing and will continue that campaign of hate, infamy and cruelty that it waged when Rodas was alive and that it has been waging against my person, but I have already sworn to God that in the face of its insults against me I am going to fully open the doors of my heart.

[Question] In other words, doctor, do you forgive the ALIPO?

[Answer] Nobody can feel upset or offended; I take words and offenses as they come. The ALIPO launched a manifesto supporting the PLH. I consider attorney Reina as one of the great liberals within the PLH. I hope that the PLH will always remain united. In addition, as a liberal I belong to the Rodist Liberal Movement which is an indestructible movement since it represents the permanent ideology of the PLH. I congratulate all the fellow liberals of ALIPO who offered their support to the PLH.

[Question] But Gen Policarpo Paz Garcia suggested that it would be advisable to have first-round elections to elect the president; what is your opinion?

[Answer] Those are subjects that are not going to be decided by Dr Suazo Cordova or by the Central Executive Council; the last word on this will have to come from the rank and file of the PLH.

[Question] What future do you see for Honduras now that the PLH has triumphed?

[Answer] We ratify what we have always said: the only alternative to keep the peace and tranquility and the electoral process of our country is the success of the Liberal Party. When it becomes the government of the future, the PLH will govern with the most honest, most capable and responsible men of the National Party, the PINU, the Christian Democrats and all the other economic and social sectors of the nation.

All honest and responsible employees will remain in their posts. We have said that when the PLH governs, it will be a government with the most capable and honest people, people who want to work, who love this country. The PLH is a party that goes forth, we have no prejudices whatsoever against anybody; it is the capable and honest people who are going to form the next liberal government.

[Question] Where do you think the National Party failed, since it has lost in many municipalities where it always won before?

[Answer] I heard many leaders of the National Party saying that we were lazy, that we had not worked, that we had not kept records; we fought for 264 municipalities in the power of the PLN, which set obstacles to our work. But like men who work hard we achieved what we have today.

[Question] Are you ready to talk with the other political sectors to achieve a better future for Honduras?

[Answer] I have always said I am open to dialogue; the only one I cannot talk with is Satan. We want the best for the Honduran people and we are ready to talk with all the leaders of political parties.

Concluding, the liberal leader thanked God that "we are Christian men."

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**MODENI LEADER COMMENTS ON PNH ELECTION DEFEAT**

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 22 Apr 80 p 5

[Text] "The National Party of Honduras [PNH] was a victim of its own fraud since in trying to take away potential voters from the other parties and movements legally registered, it left uncounted or intentionally miscounted citizens who at the last moment would have voted for them ...."

These statements come from marketing expert Raul Rodriguez Pineda, leader of the Nationalist Independent Democratic Movement [MODENI], who did not get the number of votes he needed to be elected deputy to the National Constituent Assembly. Rodriguez Pineda's opinion is shared by Fernando Diaz Zelaya who, together with the other independent candidates (led by Rodolfo Jimenez Caballero and Luis Bogran Fortin), completely failed in being elected deputies.

Concerning his own situation, Rodriguez Pineda said that he lost due to the obstacles put in his way by the local and national leadership of the National Party. He told of one instance when he took 2,000 voters to be registered and, because they were with him, they were refused registration. The same thing happened in other cases, in many of which the citizens were counted but the descriptions written down did not match the persons present simply to keep them from voting.

"Because I tried to change the leadership of the National Party, knowing that the condition it was in would make it difficult to obtain good results in the elections, the leaders of that party have tried to destroy me economically, but they will never succeed."

He attributes his failure in these elections to another fundamental reason: the fact that many persons who were for him "did not vote for me, but this will be an experience for both sides since when they have problems they are going to remember the man in whom they showed no confidence at the moment of voting, and when they look for him they will not find him anymore."

### Poor Leadership

Rodriguez Pineda added that the National Party lost because it was a victim of its own fraud and the Liberal Party took advantage of that.

Another reason for this defeat he ascribes to the "incompetence and ineptitude of nationalist leaders--a case in point is that of Bendana Meza who cannot even control his cook, much less other people--simply because no one believes in them ....

"Because of that incompetence they could not compete with a 'Crazy Ant,' as they call me."

He said that he had always predicted the defeat and that the one pleasure he still has is that his predictions were fulfilled. "I told Zuniga that if he had spent in Cortes to lose, why did he not spend twentyfold to win, but he did not pay any attention to me. I also told him that he should win according to the law and to stop his 'tricks.' That is why I say that the results are the fruit of his lies to the army, business and the people. This defeat is the one they created ...."

He added that if the National Party goes on working in this same way, it will again be defeated in the next elections for president, and he said that of the 1.2 million inhabitants, some 400,000 will vote for nationalism.

### Sure of His Triumph

He said: "I certainly wanted to become part of the National Constituent Assembly, but the results have been incredible."

He went on to say that this situation does not dishearten him and that if his movement disappears, he will create another party immediately. "The struggle has started and I will remain in it," he said.

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CSO: 3010

CARTRIDGE SHIPMENT DETAINED, LINKED TO CUBANS

Shipment Detained

FL161525 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 8 May 80 pp 1, 13

[Excerpts] The collector general's department in Kingston yesterday detained for inspection a 19,000 lb. container from Miami, said by the invoice to contain "cartuchos de casa y tejidos planos"--hunting cartridges and plain fabrics.

The container was taken to Up Park Camp for safe-keeping until it can be opened in the presence of a representative of Moonex International establishment, which the GLEANER understands has offices in New Kingston.

The GLEANER learned that Moonex, the firm to which the 20-foot container identified on the invoice as "Intu-247735" is a Cuban based company, run by a Mr. Hart. However, the Cuban ambassador in Kingston, Ulises Estrada, told the GLEANER that he knew nothing about any container at Up Park Camp and that the only materials brought in by his embassy were for the construction brigade and they had no problems with that.

The GLEANER was unable to contact National Security Minister Dudley Thompson about the matter, but a news report on Radio Jamaica at 7 p.m. quoted him as saying that the shipment was "intransit".

However a copy of the original invoice seen by the GLEANER lists the "port of discharge from vessel" as "Kingston Free Zone, Jamaica."

In addition the freight and other charges, which totalled (US)\$1,436.50 were all for the discharge of the cargo in Kingston and there was no provision on the form for the container to be shipped anywhere else. A section of the invoice also listed the container which was loaded at Dodge Island, Miami and was taken here by the Tango Express, as "hunting bootlets."

### **JLP Expresses 'Grave Concern'**

FL161530 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 8 May 80 pp 1, 13

[Excerpts] The opposition Jamaica Labour Party yesterday expressed "grave concern" at the importation of large quantities of ammunition in Jamaica except by and for Jamaica's constitutional security forces."

A statement issued by opposition MP Douglas Vas said: "The importation of ammunition--with unsatisfactory documentation by a Cuban agency, commands the most meticulous scrutiny, and the requirement of in-depth study at the highest level. Answers will also have to be provided for the existence of the 'hunting' rifle collected by the police on Tuesday.

"Given the need for meticulous national security, the JLP is gravely alarmed to learn that attempts were made today to prevent a JLP team led by the leader of the opposition from witnessing the inspection of the container."

### **Only Shotgun Cartridges Found**

FL161540 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 10 May 80 p 1

[Excerpt] Shotgun cartridges, but no fabrics, were found when the shipping container detained earlier this week was opened up at Up Park Camp on Thursday; but conflict persisted about the possibility of a Cuban connection in the matter.

A statement issued yesterday by the minister of national security, the Hon. Dudley Thompson, said the local Cuban Embassy "knows nothing whatever about this shipment".

On the other hand opposition leader Mr. Edward Seaga in his own statement on the matter said the JLP had documentary evidence of payments made by the Cuban Embassy for and on behalf of the manager of Moonex International the agency to which the shipment had been consigned.

In his statement also Mr. Thompson disclosed breaches that had been found in connection with shipment. Mr. Seaga called for immediate prosecution of the offenders.

### **Security Minister's Explanation**

FL161550 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 10 May 80 pp 1, 14

[Excerpts] The minister of national security, Hon. Dudley Thompson, has made the following statement on the 'container' issue:

"The Jamaica Labour Party has attempted to create sinister implications in respect of a container of goods which arrived in Jamaica around Monday,



May 5, consigned to Moonex International establishment, a shipping agent who operates through the free zone from headquarters in Jamaica.

Moonex International establishment is a Lichenstein company operated by Swedish directors with branches in Panama as well as in Jamaica.

The present manager is a Mr. Hart, a Jamaican of Cuban birth.

Mr. Hart received communication on the 5th May, the day the container landed, to expect what the bill of lading described in Spanish as a shipment from Miami, Florida, of hunting cartridges and plain fabrics. This was consigned to him in care of the free zone. He informs me that he has never received or dealt with any such shipment before.

All dangerous cargo of this nature to whoever consigned, would have to pass through the normal custody of the collector general and placed under surveillance and security of the Jamaica Defence Force. There has been reference in the house to the disappearance of another container. I would like to clear the air on this. Containers of this nature do not disappear.

In fact, there are two other containers to which perhaps the opposition are referring, which contain even more shotgun cartridges than the present one of controversy. There is one for the skeet club which is also being held as a matter of routine security by the JDF and there is another where a private individual imported, nearly 100 cases more than is in this container, for use here in Jamaica.

This is being held under the tight security of the JDF as no individual is going to be allowed to import this amount of cartridges in Jamaica.

"This is included to allay the fears of the public who could easily be driven into a state of panic by these exaggerated and incorrect accusations designed to create alarm and disaffection.

The container was duly opened under the supervision of the chief of staff, the permanent secretary of national security, members of the special branch and criminal investigation branch, the collector general and other customs enforcement officers. The examination and checking continued late into the night.

Video tapes and photographs were taken at every stage and a bomb disposal unit carried out inspections before the container was opened. Inside the container were cases of ordinary Remington and Winchester shotgun cartridges, normally used for shooting small game such as doves and rabbits. No fabric was found. To this extent there was a difference between the bill of lading and the contents of the container.

## Not Unusual

This I am informed, is not unusual. The bill of lading required one extra case over and above the amount found in the container. It was the clear opinion of all who searched the container and who saw the seals intact that this must have been missing before the container had left for Jamaica.

I am also informed that it is not unusual for goods in transit to arrive without a forwarding address. Forwarding destinations do not necessarily appear on the first document, i.e., the document from the original sender to the transit point. This however, would seem to be a further irregularity although commonly practised. On investigation, the following is revealed.

(1) From the nature of the goods-cartridges-this cargo would not have been held on the free zone in the warehouses of the transhippers. This is forbidden by law.

(2) The master of the vessel should have notified the collector in Jamaica before the arrival. This was not done.

(3) The local Cuban Embassy knows nothing whatever about this shipment-neither its arrival nor its destination.

(4) The company Moonex has not finalised its company registration in Jamaica. The registrar informed them to get a certified translation of certain documents which up to now has not been forthcoming. I have seen copies of correspondence in which they followed the advice of their lawyers in applying for this certified copy from last year, the manager of the company informed me that there is no other instance in which cartridges or dangerous cargo has even been either sent to him or transhipped as in this case, through him, before this occasion.

(5) In summary, he knew nothing whatsoever about it before its arrival and can be more accurately described as a post office agent acting on behalf of others in affiliate company.

(6) It is not true that Mr. Hart is paid through the Cuban Embassy.

"I hope this will have the effect of allaying fears and lifting this shroud of mystery deliberately created by the Jamaica Labour Party with sinister intentions."

## Opposition Leader Seaga's Statement

FL161855 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 10 May 80 pp 1, 2

[Text] In a statement yesterday opposition leader Edward Seaga said:

"The JLP has learned that despite the shroud of secrecy surrounding the container detained at Camp, over 200,000 shotgun cartridges valuing \$70,000 were found when the container was opened yesterday.

"No textiles or fabrics of any description were found in the container, contrary to the bill of lading.

"The cartridges were imported into the island without police permit or import licence, as a result of which the importers have committed a breach of the firearms act, a gun court offense.

#### Massive Haul

"The JLP calls on the commissioner of police, the director of public prosecutions and the collector general to take immediate action to prosecute the offenders.

"The significance of this massive haul of cartridges lies in the fact that they were imported by a Cuban agency for landing in Jamaica.

"Moonex International establishment is an agency operating in Jamaica by Cubans without legal registration.

"Although the agency is not registered in Jamaica it is operated by Cuban nationals in conjunction with the Cuban Embassy.

"The JLP has documentary evidence of payments made by the Cuban Embassy for and on behalf of Mr. Ruperto Hart of Moonex.

#### Sierra Maestra

"Mr. Hart was born in Deliete in the province of Oriente, Cuba where his father was employed to the United Fruit Company.

"He joined Castro in the Sierra Maestra from the start of the armed revolution and operated with Castro's brother, Raul, in the Sierra Cristal. He was an officer of the revolutionary forces.

"He returned to Havana after the revolution and travels to Cuba, Panama and the Bahamas frequently.

"The offices of Moonex International establishment are at the British American Life building in New Kingston and in the Kinstron freeport.

"The documents accompanying the shipment show no instruction for trans-shipment in any of the three spaces provided for such information on the ship's bill of lading.

"Attempts now by the minister of security to claim that the cartridges were to be trans-shipped is another devious effort to once again defend his Cuban communist allies.

"The JLP had been forewarned of the arrival of the shipment and confirmed this with customs at the wharf.

"The trailer with container was then detained at Camp for inspection and queries on documentation.

"The question now arises as to what should be done with the shipment?

"Because the breach is an offence under the firearms and gun court acts, the shipment of cartridges must now be seized as evidence.

"The collector general also has the power to prosecute the offender and impose a fine of up to 3 times the value of the shipment, that is \$210,000.

This would be in addition to offences under the firearms act."

'GLENER': Thompson Behavior 'Improper'

FL161910 Kingston DAILY GLEANER in English 14 May 80 p 6

[Editorial entitled "The Cartridge Improprieties"]

[Text] It was improper for a Jamaican minister of government to state unequivocally that a foreign embassy-that of Cuba-knew nothing about the shipment of cartridges detained and searched last week, yet, the minister said that he had been informed it was destined for the Institute of Sports in Cuba. The most that Mr. Dudley Thompson, the minister of national security, could properly have said was that the Cuban ambassador had informed him that his embassy had no information on the matter.

Mr. Thompson appears to have appointed himself the spokesman for the Cuban Embassy-a service he does not perform for other embassies such as that of the USA. Indeed we remember that instead of clearing the US Embassy from the ludicrous JBC charge about cameras for spying, he added to the farce by writing to the US ambassador, demanding that the cameras for close circuit television be taken down.

We must ask why Mr. Thompson seems determined to down-play the host of illegalities involved in the shipment of cartridges which was consigned to the Cuban front company, Moonex International establishment. After the alert by the JLP and the press, Mr. Thompson declared that the trailer of cartridges and fabric was to be trans-shipped, despite the evidence of the bill of lading which showed that the shipment was destined for Jamaica. Then he prevented the press from being present at the opening of the trailer without any proper excuse. We know of no law to prevent the press from being present-yet the archbishop of Kingston was told that according to law, the press and the church could not be present. To suggest that to allow the JLP, the church and the press to be present would be to insinuate politics in the matter, and to destroy the authority of the officers concerned is nonsensical, for once Mr. Thompson got himself involved, he brought politics of the most partisan kind in the matter. As the government officers had nothing to hide, there was no justifiable reason why the press, the parties and the church should have been banned.



It is improper for a foreign company to operate in Jamaica without being registered, yet Moonex had done just that, the manager of the company Mr. Ruperto Hart is a Cuban with Jamaican connection, yet Mr. Thompson has made him out to be a Jamaican. His attempts to implicate other Jamaicans only because of their alleged family relationships with Hart was a shocking exhibition of impropriety.

Moonex and the Cuban Embassy are known to have close relationships. It seems to us that the proper course for the minister of our [in bold face] security was to have the matter investigated thoroughly rather than to issue statements of exoneration. The investigation should include the question of whether the cartridges are the same as those being used to kill people in Jamaica. For example, were the Winchester cartridges in the trailer of the type used in the 12-gauge Winchester self-loading shotgun which was taken from a criminal last week? And why was fabric on the bill of lading when none was in the trailer? Why the deliberate deception?

Fortunately Mr. Thompson has conceded that a number of irregularities have been committed. As the leader of the opposition has said, it is now up to the police and the director of public prosecutions to prosecute those involved. In our view, the police should leave no stone unturned to find those behind the shipment.

Presumably, the Jamaican police will receive the assistance of the US authorities who will no doubt follow up the question of how the cartridges made in the USA are shipped to Cuba via Jamaica, despite the trade boycott of Cuba by the USA? And what exactly is the state of arms dealing between the USA, Jamaica and Cuba?

The matter is far graver than Mr. Thompson would have us believe. If the trailer was destined for Jamaica as the evidence so far suggested, then it's a monstrous crime against the people. If it is intended for Cuba, as Mr. Ruperto Hart has told Mr. Thompson, then it puts Jamaica straight into the position of confrontation with the USA.

We regret that our minister has not covered himself with the aura of propriety in this matter. Much more investigation needs to be done, and a decision taken on the fate of this shipment of cartridges which transgressed the law at so many points.

CSO: 3020

IMPLICATIONS, AIMS OF PGD PREDICTED, DISCUSSED

De la Madrid Hurtado Speaks

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Apr 80 p 1-A, 10-A

[Article by Jesus Rangel, Francisco Salinas and Alfredo Garcia]

[Text] The Overall Development Plan proposes an economic reform based on energy sources to achieve a sustained growth in the economy of 8 percent annually for the next 20 years, self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and the fulfillment of the pledge to satisfy the real needs of the masses.

Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, secretary of planning and the budget, expressed this thought yesterday on announcing the objectives of the Overall Development Plan, and he promised that the state would continue its function of guiding the economy, although it will give an important role to the political institutions of the country and to the armed forces, which "contribute to the support of democratic institutions, and to the defense of the national sovereignty."

He said that the essential objective of the plan could be summarized as guaranteeing the majority of the population food, employment, housing, security and education, within a framework of redistribution of income and social injustice.

To achieve this, the State will use 68 percent of the funds derived from oil--estimated at 931,600 million pesos from 1980 to 1982--in the agricultural and rural sector, communications and transportation, industry, social security, and states and towns.

This way, he pointed out, the plan offers a development strategy which makes use of the oil, "not an oil policy of growth." This means that the development of the country is above all else "a work of social justice and a pledge to those on the margin of society." De la Madrid Hurtado said that the four nation-wide objectives of the PGD [Overall Development Plan] are: to reaffirm and to strengthen the independence of Mexico as a democratic nation which is just and free economically, politically and culturally; to provide the

population with employment and a minimum of well-being; to give a high priority to the needs of food, education, health and housing. Also, to promote high, sustained and efficient economic growth; and to improve the distribution of income between persons, production factors and geographic regions.

He added that for the achievement of these objectives, we have political and judicial bases that lend viability, permanence and a democratic orientation to the actions of the state, and that the plan includes the formulation and orientation of domestic and foreign policy, of national security and of the administration of justice. He said that there are 22 basic points which make up the economic and social strategy of the Overall Development Plan, "mainly oriented toward transforming economic growth into social development." Among these are:

Strengthening of the state; consolidation of economic recovery; further improvement of the Mexican nutrition system; adequate distribution of profits between workers in the country and in the city; broadening and improvement of basic education for children and adults; control and reduction of the rate of inflation.

The secretary for planning and the budget made the announcement of the Overall Development Plan to President Jose Lopez Portillo, who signed the decree which establishes it as binding for the state and essential for production factors.

He reported that these quantitative goals are to be reached after 1980-82: a real growth in gross domestic product of at least 8 percent annually, an increase of 4 percent in agricultural production, 11 percent in the industrial sector, 10 percent in manufacturing, and 13.5 percent in the production of capital goods.

It is fundamental to the plan that the growth will be associated with an increase in employment of 4.2 percent, "which means creating 2.2 million new jobs in the 3-year period. This will permit absorption of the annual 3.4 percent increase in the labor force, a decrease in open unemployment and reduction of under-employment—goals which present the greatest challenge."

In order to achieve this, he added, investment will grow 14 percent, and private investment 13 percent; and strategic priorities will be met, with the largest share going to the agricultural, transportation and social welfare sectors.

He explained that allotments to the agricultural and rural development sector will grow to a real 22 percent annually; transportation and communications to 18 percent annually, and the social sector will have an annual share of 21 percent.

De la Madrid Hurtado emphasized that the anti-inflationary policy will seek to reduce the rate of domestic inflation until in 1982 the differential with the foreign rate would be 4 or 5 points; and that they would deal with the domestic money supply through promotion and a commercial policy containing energetic measures to prevent and combat speculation.

He also stated that the policies regarding salaries, prices, utilities and taxes are intended for the achievement of the well being and the participation of the workers in the public wealth and the fruits of development. "The balance between the production factors cannot be regarded as mere partial balances within the status quo, but as a transforming action," he asserted.

He added that in this line the decisive thing is the shaping of political, economic and social actions so that they may lead to an increase in real terms in the influence and the participation of the wage-earners and of those who still do not receive a permanent salary. He declared that the private sector has a great responsibility to coordinate its main investment and financing decisions with the outlines of the plan, which also benefits this sector.

Finally, he said that the role of the armed forces within the plan is defined as contributing to the support of democratic institutions and to the defense of the national sovereignty.

#### President Signs Decree

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Apr pl-A, 8-A

[Article by Jesus Rangel, Francisco Salinas and Alfredo Garcia]

[Text] President Lopez Portillo said yesterday that the Overall Development Plan is a collective project that systematically sets forth the problems of the country and defines solutions for them as examples of liberation.

The chief of state spoke before signing the decree, which appears today published in the Official Federation Report, and stated that "We Mexicans have made a specific pledge to bring into being a better Mexico, the kind our history deserves and the one that we want for our children."

In the expanded cabinet session, attended by 34 officials of the administration, the secretary of the interior, Enrique Olivares Santana, asserted that the state "does not seek to impose a course on society, but rather to coordinate undertakings among different sectors of the population."

In this sense--he added--the plan "does not set up rigid goals," but offers perspectives based on indicators which will be periodically revised, because we do not want society to confine itself to the stifling outline of inflexible plans, but to anticipate the achievement of its purposes with flexibility. "They would not use a "strait jacket" to attempt to "restrain the work of future governments, because social reality and the creative spirit of the people are more valuable than any theoretical or doctrinal scheme."

This is because Mexico has decided to regard its own contradictions, or those that come from outside, as problems; and instead of resolving them by the destruction or annihilation of different or contradictory interests, there are plans to further their integration and dynamic balance, he declared.



Jorge de la Vega Domínguez, secretary of commerce, stated that for the first time in its history Mexico is not limited in its growth by a scarcity of foreign exchange, due to its oil resources. He said that the Overall Development Plan assigns to commerce the goal of 7 percent annual growth, which means that its share in the gross domestic product will decrease from 29.4 percent to 28 percent. He declared that in arriving at this goal it is important that modernization of the commercial system not be carried out to the detriment of the creation of job sources, and that it not accentuate the process of concentration of wealth.

The secretary of public education, Fernando Solana, said that the prospects envisioned by the Overall Plan are "surprising and astonishing," pointing toward the achievement in 20 years of an economy 5 times larger than the present one, and a per capita income three times greater than that today. Later he pledged to do his part in accomplishing this.

The presidents of the Coordinating Business Council, the Employers' Confederation of the Mexican Republic and the Confederation of Industrial Chambers, Prudencio Lopez, Manuel Clouthier, and Ernesto Rubio del Cueto, respectively, asserted that private enterprise is prepared to play its part in the country's future.

The head of the Workers' Congress, Jose Luis Andrade Ibarra, and the leader of the Confederation of Mexican Workers, Fidel Velazquez, both agreed that the Overall Plan is directed toward helping the less affluent population, particularly the workers, peasants, and those on the margin of society.

Jesus Silva Herzog, under secretary of finance and public credit, noted that the most important goals of the plan are those of maintaining an average real growth of 8 percent a year in economic activity, raising employment by a rate of 4 percent, reallocating funds so as to support the problems of agricultural development more vigorously, advancing the Mexican Nutrition System, strengthening the transportation sector, reducing structural deficiencies in the productive system, and correcting disparities in the distribution of income.

This also involves an effort to make use of our riches, and to avoid the temptation of transforming ourselves into an "oil country," he concluded.

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CSO: 3010

INCE TOUTS TRADE WITH SOCIALIST BLOC

Mexico City EL SOL DE MEXICO in Spanish 16 Apr 80 p 1-3

[Article by Nora Hilda Gomez S.]

[Text] The INCE [Mexican Foreign Trade Institute] declared yesterday that there are great possibilities of increasing Mexican exports to socialist countries, but pointed out that greater initiative is required from the managerial and public sectors, as well as a continuing effort.

The Mexican Foreign Trade Institute stated that methods of financing should be found and established which would allow Mexican products to compete in international markets.

He explained that there is great interest among the socialist nations in increasing their commercial relations with Mexico. For example, he said that Poland has shown interest in tripling its commercial exchange over the next 5 years. This amounted to \$34 million in both directions in 1979.

The GDR is interested in purchasing cotton, silver jewelry, textile products, foodstuffs, and other items. They have promised financing for those exports, and they are interested in obtaining Mexican technology for the manufacture of sponge iron.

Czechoslovakia is interested in buying from Mexico trousers, raisins, dehydrated garlic, sweaters, fermented cacao beans and paste, pigments for the glass and ceramics industry, polyanide resins, and epichlorine, shrimps, and other items.

Also, conditions are being worked out for establishing financing terms for traditional exports going to that country.

Hungary is interested in buying sweaters, canned pineapple, lead and zinc oxides, chickpeas, sesame and other items. Preferential financing arrangements for the sale of Mexican products are also being studied.

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## GOVERNMENT TO SUPPLY OIL TO INDIA

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 16 Apr 80 p4-A, 30-A

[Text] New Delhi, 15 April (LATIN-REUTER)-A government communique stated today that Mexico is prepared to supply a million tons of oil to India during the present financial year.

The oil supplies to India were discussed here between the Mexican secretary of resources and industrial development, Jose Andres Oteyza, and the Indian minister of petroleum, Veerendra Patil. India expects to import some 16.5 million tons of crude oil during the financial year which begins this month.

Previously, all their oil imports came from the Middle East and the Soviet Union.

Oteyza, who arrived today for a 3-day visit, told Patil that Mexico will also consider an Indian request for phosphoric acid for the production of fertilizers.

At present India imports 30,000 tons of phosphoric acid from Mexico, but its needs will increase to 300,000 tons over the next 2 or 3 years, according to the official communique.

### IMP: Export Refined Products

Mexico already is able to convert crude oil into all kinds of refined products for export, the director of the Mexican Petroleum Institute (IMP), Agustin Straffon, confirmed yesterday. He repeated that it is better to sell the energy source with value added, not as a raw material.

He stated that during the 6-year period the volume of associated gas which is burned in the extraction of oil has been reduced from 600 million to 70 million cubic feet.

Mexico exports ammonia, liquified gas, natural gas and fuel oil, among other products, but already has the necessary technology to produce any petroleum derivative, he emphasized.

"The quality level in the processing of crude is one of the highest in the world. We have the best refineries on earth, the most efficient ones, and moreover we sell petroleum technology to several countries."

When asked whether the decision to sell more finished products than crude would be more a political than a technical decision, the director of the IMP responded: "We only do research in the institute. It is up to PEMEX to determine that question. We limit ourselves to reporting that we have all the necessary technology for the refining." Straffon was interviewed at the conclusion of a reception which the former students of the National Polytechnic Institute held in honor of the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] candidate for the governorship of Michoacan, Eng Ousuhtemec Cardenas Solares. He emphasized that the reduction in volume of the gas which is being burned was achieved thanks to the research being carried out by the IMP.

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## LITERACY CAMPAIGN TOPICS REPORTED

## Masses in Revolution

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 6 Mar 80 p 3

[Excerpt] The struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship was carried out principally by the Nicaraguan people as a whole and directed by the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). Using various combat methods, it played an active role in the final offensive which, on 19 July 1979, put an end to 43 years of infamous dictatorship.

Eighteen long years of struggle preceded this victorious awakening which we are now enjoying. The first years were the hardest for the handful of men who, in July 1961, formed the vanguard of the Nicaraguan people--our glorious Sandinist National Liberation Front, summoned to anarchistic action by Augusto Cesar Sandino, General of Free Men. In those first years of struggle, our people had extremely little knowledge of organization, and Sandinist combatants fought in the mountains, fields and cities without the benefit of any appreciable organization by our people. The Bocay guerrilla undertaking in 1963 was an important experience in this connection, so that in Pancasan in 1967, our organization, the FSLN, applied the lessons taught by this experience and took preliminary steps to get the people to help maintain and provide reliable support for the guerrilla group.

These partial setbacks, examined critically, showed our vanguard, the FSLN, the need to have closer ties with the people, to organize them and prepare them for the decisive fight against the National Guard, defender of Somoza and imperialist interests.

During the period from 1970 to 1975 the FSLN established better administrative ties with the people, and the people achieved a considerable degree of organization whose effect is felt in their participation in every combative action undertaken by the FSLN.

Thus, based on a correct understanding of our situation, the FSLN proceeded to establish the organizations needed at the crucial moment; it brought

about the establishment of the United People's Movement (MUP), the People's Action Committees (CAP), the Workers Union Movements (MSPT), the Union Struggle Committees (CLS), the Youth Movement (OLJ), the National Association of Women Concerned With the Nation's Problems (AMPRONAC), the Revolutionary Christian Movement (MCR), the Sandinist Revolutionary Youth (JRS), the Nicaraguan Revolutionary Youth (JRN) and the like. And it took it upon itself to organize the Civil Defense Committees (CDC) and Workers Defense Committees (CDT) in the country's work centers. On the basis of this revolutionary experience and with the help of the organizations created to aid in the struggle under the proper guidance of the FSLN, it was possible to overcome the obsolete and limited economic concepts promoted by reformist parties. In the course of this struggle, our workers became convinced that the correct positions were those held by the FSLN which, through years of patient effort, had educated them in revolutionary concepts of organization for political and armed conflict. On the basis of this experience and with the aid of newly enlightened people, we are now establishing the Sandinist Workers Federation (CST), the Agricultural Workers Association (ATC) and other organizations stemming from that struggle and covered by the FSLN banner.

Now, after victory, the people have flocked to our organizations and, through those organizations, are participating in the tasks demanded by our revolution. Our vanguard, the FSLN, is closely linked with all the people through its various organizations and is providing proper guidance. This system of organizations, which is maintaining close relations between the people and their vanguard, is the proper mechanism to assure the future of the revolution.

#### Foreign Debt Proposals

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 11 Mar 80 p 3

[Excerpt] The Somoza regime was a form of domination which supported the interests of imperialism and a small group of exploiters.

With the victory of the Sandinist Popular Revolution we inherited a country impoverished by the Somoza regime, with an economy dependent upon the international market and foreign financing, with a high rate of unemployment and underemployment and with a large number of factories and firms destroyed by the bombing carried out by the genocidal National Guard.

Our country is now burdened with a large foreign debt which is approaching \$1.675 billion; to liquidate it, every Nicaraguan would have to pay \$609.

Agriculture is our main source of production and this year hundreds of thousands of acres were not planted because of the war. For example, in the case of cotton, which brings in the most foreign currency, only 40,000 to 45,000 manzanas [1 manzana = 1.7 acres] were planted out of a possible total of 250,000.

The reserves we had in foreign currency were plundered by the Somoza gangs who fled the country. This is the type of problem our revolution is facing. These difficulties are not a result of the revolution as some pro-Somoza and counterrevolutionary elements would have us believe. They are the heritage of the Somoza doctrine. To defeat the Somoza way of life once and for all we need to increase our production to its maximum and consume as little as possible.

We are not working so that others may become wealthy; we are working toward the construction of a country where our children can satisfy all their basic needs and where there is no poverty or prostitution or undernourished children because their parents are unemployed. But to accomplish this we must increase production to its maximum. This is a basic condition if we are to achieve total freedom.

Some suggest that we accept a certain type of loan and submit to specific conditions which would be a betrayal of the ideals for which our heroes and martyrs fought. Our revolution is not to be sold out for some temporary benefits. With austerity, work and organization, we shall soon succeed in making progress without again becoming dependent on foreign indebtedness such as that we inherited from the Somoza regime.

We need to acquire new habits of work and austerity. Let us pursue everything which is productive; let us economize in the use of water, light and food; let us take good care of the tools, machinery, vehicles, buildings and material in general which are the property of the Nicaraguan people. In like manner, let us take good care of our forests; let us not needlessly use up our natural resources. Let us offer guidance and respond with dignity to those who, during these first few years, would have us sell our freedom for a little more comfort.

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CSO: 3010

## NICARAGUA

### ENVOY TO COSTA RICA RESPONDS TO 'LA REPUBLICA'

San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 4 May 80 p 5

[Text] The Nicaraguan ambassador to Costa Rica, Javier Chamorro Mora, has made it clear that there is no relation between the resignations of Violeta de Chamorro and Alfonso Robelo, while explaining to our reporter that the situation in Nicaragua is very different from what has been reported.

"I have been greatly surprised by the concepts set forth in your editorial on 23 April, giving a series of erroneous ideas, most certainly due to misinformation supplied to you to the detriment of our revolutionary process, in connection with the retirement of Comrade Violeta de Chamorro and the resignation of engineer Alfonso Robelo from our National Reconstruction Government Junta.

"I believe it necessary to make it clear to the public in Costa Rica that it is improper to link the retirement of Comrade Violeta de Chamorro with the resignation of engineer Robelo, although their nearness in time lent itself to political manipulation. This precisely was what the above-mentioned engineer Robelo attempted to engage in, seeking to utilize a specific situation which occurred for family and health reasons in an attempt to obtain political support for himself and his movement. Even here he failed to win support, because only about six heeded his appeal to resign their posts in the government and none of these resignations is of any great importance.

"For your information, it is neither the retirement of Dona Violeta, whose letter and its response from the government junta I attach hereto, nor that of engineer Robelo, which as I said before are in no way related, which provide guarantees of the freedom and democracy for our people. Rather it is precisely that people, with all their majority mass organizations and their vanguard, who are demonstrating constantly in their mobilization, who are establishing the structures, the bases and foundations needed for a true democracy, since what is common among our people are not demonstrations of protest but massive demonstrations of support of the revolutionary process, seeking above all things the well-being of the majority, and during these demonstrations our police force protects order in every sense, as was



further demonstrated by the order assured during the meeting which the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement held last month when it became a party.

"The preterian guard and the torture to which you refer disappeared in Nicaragua with the Somoza regime and what exists now is a people in arms, a people very zealously watching over and supporting their process and their reconstruction, unprepared to allow foreign powers to dictate to us and tell us what to do. What exists now is a fervent desire on the part of our people to develop and rapidly close the social gaps which were our heritage from the Somoza era, winning the social and economic benefits necessary to emerge from the underdevelopment which is eating away at our very foundation. What exists now is a people who have achieved their liberation politically and who can say, with the right and sovereignty to which the blood of our martyrs entitles us, that we are against any type of exploitation, racism, alinement or dependence and that our foreign policy will be conducted under conditions of mutual respect, and not humiliation, with any country in the world with whom we see fit to deal, independent of its ideological structure.

"We agree that the eyes of the world are focused on our revolution, since it is not every day that such humanitarian and sensitive undertakings as ours occur. It is not every day that the war criminals, instead of being executed, as the majority of them merit, are arrested and taken to trial to prove their guilt, despite the social costs this entails, and in addition under the economic conditions we inherited from the Somoza era. It is not every day that these defendants are offered a literacy program to rescue them from the obscurantism in which the Somoza regime kept them, and it is not every day that a people which has bled so freely and has been destroyed economically makes such an extraordinary effort to provide food, housing, education and health to its people, even in the most remote and inhospitable corners of the country.

"Back in December, there were certain sectors in this same brotherly country which reported tendentious and distorted information in the news media, to the effect that our prisons in Nicaragua were filled with children and young people under the most desperate conditions, all of which was truthfully denied by our leaders on the very basis of the facts themselves, as witnessed moreover by some leading personalities in this country. Today these same sectors, or perhaps others, are trying to say that there are in our prisons a large number of former comrades who became disillusioned with Sandinism in an effort to convert them to communism, when what is to be found, in very small numbers, are smugglers and profiteers who believe that the revolution meant redistribution, small groups of ultraleftists who out of political opportunism, in order to achieve an influence the rebellion did not give them, sought to manipulate our people by engaging in criminal actions, such as the possession of weapons of war and others. There are some few former colleagues who committed abuses of authority, believing that Sandinist justice would not apply to them, whose cases are being investigated, but all of these together do not come to more than 100, representing approximately

1.5 percent of all of the Somoza prisoners being held, of whom our revolutionary justice has freed a considerable number, some of whom never came to trial and others after trial demonstrated that their violations were minor ones.

"Although I do not want to know and am not interested in the names of the 'high officials, commanders and military commissars of the Sandinist National Liberation Front' you mention so confidently, I want to make it clear to you that apparently they have misinformed you, for in our vanguard and in our Sandinist People's Army (EPS) the only currently existing ranks are commanders of the revolution and guerrilla commanders, and all of them, without exception, are working intensively to build a 'free, democratic, sovereign and independent Nicaragua' within our territory, and if such officers exist in Costa Rica, they must be persons who gave themselves the title of commander during the war or who are using this as a pseudonym they want to exploit now.

"I can assure you truthfully that all our commanders and a greater part of our combatants are working for the reconstruction of Nicaragua and the consolidation of our process, and that for the former, none of the commanders who came into the country after the triumph has had the slightest intention of leaving Nicaragua. And as to the combatants, it is absurd to claim that there have been no dissidents, above all when we realize that we could not be demanding in selecting them since the conditions prevailing in that era did not allow this, and considering further that with the disbanding of the only pretorian guard which has existed or ever will exist in Nicaragua, there were suddenly many last-minute guerrilla fighters who were drug addicts, pickpockets, etc., who seized a gun and uniform from the abandoned vehicles and barracks and were popularly known as '19 July guerrilla fighters,' in other words combatants after the triumph.

"I would also like to make it clear to you, commenting a bit on the 25 April orchestration, that our only face is the people, our goals are for the benefit of the people and our achievements are those of the people. This is the only picture which in all justice can be painted in Nicaragua, one for which we have sufficient material, and which will prevent the erosion from destroying the country. And our painters, craftsmen, architects, professional people, workers and peasants, along with the Church and other organizations, are aware of this, painting now as we did in the recent past, without deceiving those such as you who, within the general context of the Costa Rican Government and people, to whom we owe so much, have aided us in our liberation and in eradicating the Somoza regime.

"Our problems are great and our task is difficult, since in the course of our struggle we lost much blood and suffered political, economic and social devastation, with the destruction of our cities and our harvests, and what is worse, the deaths of a large number of our people. And in this accumulation of difficulties facing us and slowing our advance and our rise, we ask only for understanding and time to heal our wounds and sores, still bleeding, after what we have shown the peoples of the world, especially those who unselfishly gave us their friendly hand and the warmth of solidarity, who gave us moral strength enough to complete the task undertaken triumphantly."

## NICARAGUA

### ENVOY TO COSTA RICA RESPONDS TO 'LA NACION'

San Jose LA NACION in Spanish 1 May 80 p 10A

[Text] The Nicaraguan ambassador to Costa Rica, Don Javier Chamorro Mora, stated that his country will undergo a true transformation without foreign political or economic pressure.

With this statement Chamorro denied the claims of an editorial published in the daily press on 24 April warning that "it is not possible that in less than a year, the team governing Nicaragua today could defraud its people and the brotherly peoples of America, selling its destiny out to the interests of a remote foreign power.

The editorial also said that the country showed ominous indications of deviation from the stated purposes of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Among these it mentioned the repression which has begun to be exerted on the newspaper LA PRENSA, the control the Sandinists are exerting over the trade unions and the resignations of government leaders Violeta Barrios de Chamorro and engineer Alfonso Robelo.

The Nicaraguan diplomat said the following in response to this editorial:

"Again allow me to benefit from your characteristic courtesy to comment on the editorial 'The Nicaraguan Revolution Is at a Crossroads,' published in an issue of your newspaper.

"It is a fact that a good part of the solidarity which our campaign for liberty was able to challenge was motivated by the corruption, genocide, obscurantism and uncertainty in which the Somoza dynasty, supported by some governments, kept us plunged for 45 years, and it is true that during the rebellion almost all of the sectors of our people joined together to a greater or lesser extent. But it is also true and no one can deny that had there been no political-military vanguard such as the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) proved to be, these desires for freedom by an oppressed people subjugated by a band of criminals, who in their death agony horrified the world, would have been in vain. Had it not been for the

existence of such a vanguard, which established its struggle as of 1961, and which provided the framework and the foundations necessary for the development of the rebellious offensive beginning in October 1977, including the taking of the National Palace in August of 1978 and the glorious uprising of September 1978, culminating in the final offensive launched at the end of May 1979--had it not been for this series of actions which a limited number of Sandinists launched under totally adverse conditions in our cities and mountains, being regarded by some as insane and by others as extremists, Nicaragua could not have arisen from the ashes nor could it have been oriented for the first time in its history along a truly democratic path, but with an understanding of it in its true dimensions, such that our dispossessed majorities are the beneficiaries, and not just a privileged few as was the case in the past.

"Along this democratic path, with a broad pluralistic form which is continuing at present and which includes our Church, both its hierarchy and its base levels, our students, journalists, workers, peasants, professional workers and progressive businessmen, the Independent Liberal Party, the Christian Socialist People's Party, the Socialist Party, and moreover a part of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, which is even drafting a political statement questioning the personalistic resignation of engineer Robelo--it is this pluralism in accordance with which our process is developing and this people and their vanguard, who with their unlimited heroism and sacrifice developed a great international solidarity, who will decide on their fate and the path of our revolution, and with whom, as we have said in the past and reiterate in the present, we will create a new Nicaragua, without foreign political or economic pressure.

"Concerning the resignation of engineer Robelo, this was dictated as I have said before by political opportunism, a desire to make use for his own benefit of the retirement of Comrade Violeta de Chamorro, and in no way does it represent a crisis. His statement about the breakdown of the unity of pluralism and the pact reflects solely his personal opinion, having no consensus either within his party or in private business.

"Despite the efforts of some sectors to destroy our stability, seeking in multiple ways to exert pressure on us and cause problems for us, our desires for liberation, our iron will to rebuild ourselves, on which we have begun and which we will continue to its final consequences, are continuing with impunity and it is unjust for them also to seek to push the blame on us for a crisis of a purely commercial nature currently in progress at the newspaper LA PRENSA, where the trade union is urging the reinstatement of editor Xavier Chamorro Cardenal, who was appointed by his brother Pedro Joaquín Chamorro long before his death, and who was dismissed by the board of directors made up precisely of his brothers and nephews. It is also unjust to blame these 'officially sponsored, manipulated and politicized trade unions' as the partial reason for the resignation of Comrade Violeta de Chamorro from her post in the National Reconstruction Government Junta, when she stated quite the contrary in her accompanying letter. She



said that she was resigning as planned, for reasons of health, and in this connection we must understand the courage of this comrade, who after the murder of her husband was able to take up his banner and join fully in the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship and the revolutionary undertaking, despite her family grief and problems.

"No one can say that any kind of pressure has been exerted on the daily LA PRENSA or its editors by our reconstruction government, and I would remind you of the statement made by Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Barrios at the recent meeting of the IAPA held in this country. Amidst the attack made on our revolution, he stated that 'although we lack affiliation with the journalists' union, we have had no problems in reporting the news.' Moreover, reading the issues of this newspaper from 19 July to the present we can see the independent and pluralistic line it has maintained, sometimes constructively criticizing and supporting the actual advances on other occasions, and in no way is it conceivable to think that there are trade unions, mass organizations or other structures which can reestablish the 'dark night of the Somoza regime,' when we all know that the horrors it committed have parallels only with Nero in ancient Rome and Hitler in Nazi Germany.

"In conclusion, I want to make it clear to you that our government is violating no agreement or pact made in the past, for as our leaders have said, the very name with all its connotations with the Somoza era evokes a hateful image in us. What has been done is to adapt these structures to the real situation in Nicaragua at present, in which some organizations have disappeared or lost their real effectiveness, which has been transferred to others which have been established and which were those playing the largest role in the overthrow. And you can be sure that in this connection we will not force the people but will do and achieve what the people want, without sectarianism or impositions of any kind, seeking the well-being of the vast majority, and rather than deceiving, we want by our example to contribute to eliminating the injustice which, as you say, prevails to a greater or lesser extent in many countries."

5157

CSO: 3010

CALDERA DISCUSSES EFFECTS OF 'SIERRA NEVADA' SCANDAL

Caracas RESUMEN in Spanish 18 May 80 pp 16-24

[Interview with former President Rafael Caldera, by Jorge Olavarria:  
 "'Conspiracy, No; Concurrence, Yes'"; date and place not given;  
 passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Excerpts] In a passionate dialog, Jorge Olavarria discussed some of the subjects being debated at this crucial time in the republic with Rafael Caldera. Caldera said: "I believe that, facing the corruption, whoever is implicated, the country demands more than an agreement and more than a coalition or a pact; it demands basic concurrence between the honest people in the AD [Democratic Action] and the honest people in other parties."

Jorge Olavarria: I have the impression that Perez has succeeded in his attempt to deflect attention from a concrete case in which he is very seriously involved toward a confrontation with Rafael Caldera, accusing you of being the "great conspirator," the great orchestrator of everything that is happening. It is a clumsy maneuver because it is obvious and well known that you did not initiate anything. However, first it provokes you to say "I was not" (because you were not) and, second, because of the virulence with which he attacked you, it provokes a response from you which starts a debate with the leader of Christian Democracy in Venezuela.

Rafael Caldera: I was in Europe recently when all the reports about this maneuver reached me and I considered whether I should say anything about it or not. Some Venezuelans whom I met there—friends of mine—and some here when I returned thought that I should not react to these statements but should keep silent. I thought it was my duty to explain things because the people who have faith in me and in my frankness might feel confused that accusations were made against me and I did not respond. My main objective was to recall once more what seemed to have become blurred in the midst of all this confusing procedure of the so-called "Sierra Nevada case": the formal presentation of this matter came from a report of the Partisan Ethics Committee of the AD. I even felt it was necessary to

read some paragraphs from that ethics committee report and recall the names of its members so that no one could think that they were susceptible to being "manipulated" by people from other political groups. The presentation to the Chamber of Deputies by the AD parliamentary sector was at the request of President Perez himself, according to what was reported publicly. Then there should also be a response to some statements made that have nothing to do with the case. Certain sectors that have a vested interest in it have said that /all/ administrations have been equally guilty. This might be the position of some spokesmen of ideologies that reject the system of pluralistic democracy that reigns in Venezuela; their constant objective is to present all the political parties, especially those that have had the responsibility of government, as guilty of a number of reprehensible deeds. Thus they discredit the democratic system itself. This also might be the position of some political leaders who think that, by uniting the people in AD and COPEI (Social Christian Party) in the blame, these leaders will become more important and appear as potential "saviors" of the country. Certainly this maneuver has some "effectiveness," partly because of the accusations of those who say absurd things right and left which have already been investigated and judged more than enough.

I also believe that the maneuver desperately (and I believe unsuccessfully) wants to convert the explanation of a deed subject to investigation into a political conflict between the AD and COPEI. The malevolent insinuations that have been made about an alleged conspiracy between President Betancourt and me have not taken shape. They have tried to "show something" and then leave President Betancourt out and present me as the brains behind the maneuver. I thought it was my duty to speak because the country /knows/ that I have been a fighter; the country knows that I have never closed my mouth facing accusations. It would be surprised at my silence which is not compatible with my personality, my background and the responsibility that I believe I have in Venezuela. I recognize that I used harsh expressions because of the type of debate and the nature of the accusations. It is not the first time that this has occurred. I have a long history as a fighter and, in that fight, I have sometimes had this task which is not to my liking. The country knows me; by temperament, by natural inclination and even by reflection I have always been inclined to make well-considered comments on the actions of other politicians, other groups and other trends. Perhaps for that reason, the image that has prevailed in the Venezuelan political system is an image of moderation.

Jorge Olavarria: That is true. But inevitably, because it is true, you are giving an explanation; you are giving an excuse. The logical truth is that you are not a conspirator nor are you in agreement with Betancourt about putting into operation everything that has been started. The ontological truth is that it could be true and it would not be shameful. What is wrong with you and Romulo Betancourt agreeing to put an end to the corruption that is undermining the democratic system? What would be wrong with you and Romulo Betancourt combining forces, combining your prestige,

combining the weight of your authority to make both parties and the entire area of influence which you both project in the country—which is vast—decide once and for all for honest democracy? Let me tell you something, Dr Caldera. In addition to all the strategic reasons that there could be to cause a confrontation between you and President Perez, there is something underlying which is more depressing: that pessimistic view of Venezuelan politics according to which corruption is inherent not only to democratic systems, but to the Venezuelan person and to all Venezuelan systems. It is a type of "Gomez effect" that survives. Although it is true that Gomez governed using certain forms of corruption and using terror, the police, oppression and restricted freedom, it is also true that there are those who believe that democratic systems must survive through a generalized, institutionalized corruption. Whoever cannot be convinced can be bought; whoever cannot be convinced or bought can be prostituted, etc. I would like to hear from the two of you that the denounced conspiracy is true.

Rafael Caldera: You are right but, in this case, the truth is that President Betancourt and I have not talked once; we have not met once.

Jorge Olavarria: That is precisely the unfortunate thing....I remember that Betancourt made a public proposal in Pinerua Ordaz' proclamation that COPEI and AD join forces against corruption. You have made that proposal on other occasions, but it has not gone beyond public statements. You two have not sat down to talk about the ways and means to implement that proposal. Why not?

Rafael Caldera: I understand that, in the present case, the personal circumstances of one of those allegedly implicated have caused particular consequences for your party and President Betancourt's actions. It is frequently and repeatedly said, with great semblance of truth, that there is a profound question now within the party and that profound question involves the personal relationship between President Betancourt and President Perez in spite of the intense and close collaboration, friendship and solidarity that has existed between the two through the years.

Jorge Olavarria: It should not be forgotten that, during President Perez' administration, the man who made the harshest criticism of corruption in Perez' government (and the only thing he did not do was name names) was Romulo Betancourt. Even Pinerua's candidacy was an internal manifestation within the AD, a type of renovation or rejection of a government formed not necessarily by AD members, a government embodied in the famous "apostles," Laurias, Arrias, etc.

Rafael Caldera: In any case, whatever the interpretation that can be given to the words of President Betancourt on different occasions during President Perez' administration, I think it is not up to me....

Jorge Olavarria: In other words, it is a family dispute and you do not want to meddle....



Rafael Caldera: Get involved. The initiative, in any case, could never come from me. It would be improper and inappropriate for me to approach or seek out or try to tell President Betancourt what he should do in this case. It is obvious (no one can doubt it, without attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of AD) that the AD members in the Partisan Ethics Committee, or at least some of them, are very closely tied to President Betancourt. For the majority of the public who has read this and, perhaps, for the majority of the AD public, that report and the signatures--or at least some of the signatures--on it must sound like President Betancourt; no one can deny this. However, I want to repeat that, in the present case, there has been absolutely no type of agreement, meeting, relationship....

Jorge Olavarria: And I want to repeat to you that it is a shame that there has not been. I do not believe that it would be shameful if there had been.

Rafael Caldera: Well, I understand your statements perfectly but I am referring to the facts, the facts as they have occurred. In my case, I have repeated that I am neither President Perez' accuser nor his judge. Now, when it was my turn to speak and when the journalists asked whether I stated the opinion that the country was being denied its right to information, I said no; I prefer not to give opinions, I have given my opinion and this is what has happened....

Jorge Olavarria: Looking at it indirectly, you would defend him if you considered him innocent; thus, you consider him guilty.

Rafael Caldera: I have expressed with my own words--which I believe are clear enough because I usually speak clearly--what I think about the matter. There have been attempts to intimidate me and frighten me which, in my way of thinking, is a great tactical error because those who thought of this, those who conceived this strategy, might have achieved their objective to involve me in the debate. However, I do not believe that they have had any success in their intention to launch a series of accusations at me in order to intimidate me and tell me: "Be careful. Do what you can to stop that procedure or that investigation because you are going to end up hurt; we are going to bring up things about you that are going to cause you great injury or great irritation." They must not know the history of political life in Venezuela to think that they will intimidate me that way.

Jorge Olavarria: That procedure has been tried with me also as you well know and they did not manage to silence me so they have been wrong with many people. Let me approach this question from another perspective; let us see if I succeed. To cite only one example, when the United Kingdom's entrance into the European Common Market was being debated in the United Kingdom, the subject was so controversial, it affected so many interests and involved so many ways of conceiving the United Kingdom's position and

function in the world, that it divided the two major parties, Labour and Conservative, into two. There were Labourites in favor of the Common Market and Labourites against it. There were Conservatives in favor of the Common Market and Conservatives against it. By being in favor or against it, they agreed, probably for very different reasons, but the fact is that they agreed. Now, concerning that mysterious chemistry in the ethical conduct of men, we see the equals unite in the Sierra Nevada case and reject those opposed. It is very easy in the specific Sierra Nevada case to use an ethics measurer (which has not yet been invented)--an "ethicometer"--to detect who is with whom inside each party. You see the URD (Democratic Republican Union) divided and you see the MAS (Movement for Socialism) divided, divided in the sense that opinions are divided, not necessarily the party. Do you see COPEI divided?

Rafael Caldera: I do not see that!

Jorge Olavarria: Well, there are people in COPEI who would have liked the matter to have gone a different way. I am going to cite two very clear examples: Senator Rachadell and Senator Valmore Acevedo. They have publicly given opinions that could be interpreted....

Rafael Caldera: I have read those opinions and what those opinions criticize is that the matter was turned over to parliamentary investigation. They are not criticizing any COPEI initiative because COPEI did not open the parliamentary investigation. However, many ask what President Perez was after by requesting the parliamentary investigation.

Jorge Olavarria: Now look, Dr Caldera, everything you are saying is known and your opinion is valid but I want to go further with you. I ask you to remember and express your opinion about this reflection that I am asking you to make, keeping in mind that this is a really important debate. I believe that the survival of the democratic system is in play; credibility is in play.

Rafael Caldera: No! We are not placing the democratic system in a life-or-death situation! I understand that this will influence and does influence credibility, progress, the functioning of the system, but I reject, in principle, placing democracy in that type of final position in which it lives or dies during each serious problem in the country. There can be many more serious problems in the country. As was said in a speech in the United Kingdom, Holland, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany or Italy which lived under fascism or the United States where there was one of the most important trials that greatly affected the world--the trial of democracy, the Watergate trial--no one thinks that a serious problem must lead to a life-or-death sentence for the democratic system.

Jorge Olavarria: Is the democratic system eternal? Is it immutable? If the democratic system seems incapable of correcting the faults that the system engenders and the men who form its institutions are incapable....

Rafael Caldera: This leads to what? The so-called "nondemocratic" solutions? Are they really solutions?

Jorge Olavarria: No! No! Don't attribute those conclusions to me because you know perfectly well what I think about that.

Rafael Caldera: I know and that is what upsets me. People who are democratic, who believe in democracy, who have even suffered persecution for the defense of freedom, admit the possibility that problems which show up at some certain time in the democratic system can lead to the so-called "nondemocratic solutions" which are no solution.

Jorge Olavarria: I have not called them "nondemocratic solutions"; I have called them a crisis of a system that seems to be incapable of putting its own mechanisms into practice and is thus succumbing. Every revolution is not a solution but a leap into the void; it is a leap into the void impelled by desperation, exasperation, lack of credibility, loss of all hope to put into practice democracy's marvelous theoretical mechanisms of self-correction (which no other political system that is known, that has been invented, has). I consider this "Sierra Nevada" case in that situation. I believe that an extreme has been reached by the things that have been said, the awareness and the conviction that the country has that Perez enriched himself illegally as president of the republic, that he enriched other people, that he illegally favored a group of people, that he used intermediaries and, in summary, that he corrupted and tore the moral fibers and resilience of this country. We still have not figured out how widespread this is (but we are beginning to realize this through this debate). We are seeing how widespread the corruption was, how far the hand went in and how the league for dishonest democracy controls the mechanisms of power and public opinion. I place myself--like you and President Betancourt and many other Venezuelans--on the side of /honest democracy/. That is what I wanted to tell you; that is what really divides the two--Perez from you and Betancourt. The cynics, whether intelligent or not, are those who believe that man only acts for money, for personal interest, for cowardice or for fear. There are others, however, who think differently. I am one and thus I would like to hear Rafael Caldera and Romulo Betancourt say: "I have not conspired to destroy Perez but I am going to do it because it is necessary for the salvation of the democracy, because it is necessary for the health of the democratic institutions in Venezuela." He will not be denied the right to defense; he will not be denied any of the recourses of the law for any accused person; there will be no persecution. However, the law will be applied and there will not be any compromises or any bribes or any intimidation of any type. That is what I would like to hear!

Rafael Caldera: I believe that, /facing the corruption, whoever is implicated, the country demands more than an agreement and more than a coalition or pact; it demands basic concurrence between the honest people in the AD--undoubtedly there are some who must be going through a very anguishing situation--and the honest people in other parties/.



Jorge Olavarria: That is the conspiracy!

Rafael Caldera: I repeat that the important thing would be concurrence. After the facts were presented and at the time of issuing the report, it was inspired by the same noble and proper motives and guided by the same concern for the good of the country and national interest. However, I repeat that the agreement, let us say on the concrete case, would be possibly (as I understand President Betancourt's position and the position of his followers in the AD) pabulum that would be perhaps counterproductive to a political campaign.

Jorge Olavarria: But that is precisely the conspiracy! That concurrence exists objectively; it is verifiable even though it may not be an express agreement.

Rafael Caldera: I see complete concurrence between the Partisan Ethics Committee report and the Tenorio Report.

Jorge Olavarria: Right! That is true! That is the conspiracy. They denounce it as a conspiracy because it has resulted in concurrence. By denying the conspiracy as you do, with logical reason and ontological injustice, you are in a way denying concurrence and losing the leadership of honest democracy. Dishonest democracy has leaders; it has strategists; it has money; it has people who think; and it has experienced lawyers.

Rafael Caldera: I also believe, Jorge, that there is something important: there are two aspects. They are closely related but there are /two/ aspects. One is punishment for the corruption that occurred in the more or less immediate past or the more or less distant past. Another is /to change/ direction so that the corruption that tends to multiply and recur in a country where each official has infinite temptations is not continued. For example, when I appointed a person for "denunciations, complaints and demands" and gave him a committee at the highest level in the country because I believe that no one who hears those names can imagine any group of men with a greater degree of seriousness and confidence before the Venezuelan people, I insisted that he was not designated nor was this committee of advisers designated to investigate the past. It could have been done and some had been mentioned in the political campaign but I prevented that from happening. I appointed them to supervise my government, not to investigate previous governments. You will say that punishment for previous deeds has an immediate effect on future possibilities; that is, lack of punishment stimulates new corruption while punishment sets an example and helps contain the overflow produced by a moral crisis that has evidently affected large sectors of our population. Now I think that the most /important/ aspect of the position of the country with respect to its tie to the democratic system itself is precisely what should occur from now on. In that sense I felt the response that Luis Herrera Campins, now president of the republic, gave during the electoral campaign was correct. When they asked him about the resources to fight corruption, he said the example and the conduct of the people in government were most important.



Jorge Olavarria: That is no longer enough! Look, they demand that Luis Herrera be austere, wear cheap suits, not go out on sprees and live simply but we again fall into what I think is a serious conceptual error: to relegate Perez to the level of the previous governments. No one doubts that reprehensible administrative deeds were committed during his government. No one doubts that they were committed during Leoni's administration and Betancourt's. It is impossible in an administration as gigantic as the Venezuelan Government to supervise each and every case. However, no one doubts that, in general, their /overall/ administration and specifically the /conduct/ of Presidents Caldera, Leoni and Betancourt were irreproachable. That is already a verdict of history. That has already been judged. It is not that we do not want to return to the past, but it has already been judged. This is not true in Perez' case. In Perez' case there is the rooted conviction in the country that this is a corrupt and corrupting man, terribly corrupt and terribly corrupting and as cynical as possible. You said it on a television program: he tells the biggest lies with the greatest effrontery. He flagrantly contradicts himself 5 minutes later and does not care. That is the reality; in other words, we have a fortunately atypical case within democracy for its audacity and the simplicity of its defense strategy. He has a single strategy: to save himself, to manage to confuse this matter and get on your level. You cannot be on the same level as he. Where are Caldera's apostles? Where is Betancourt's corruption? Where is the notoriety of Raul Leoni's wealth? That cannot be said and no one could sensibly claim it. When you see his people stirring up the mud and splashing their own dirt, it is precisely to establish parallelism with the previous governments and they have succeeded. I continue trying to achieve a level of historic evaluation that views one group as Leoni, Caldera and Betancourt and Perez in a separate category. That is the category that needs to be punished, that needs to be expelled from Venezuelan politics through the application of the first amendment to the Constitution. I repeat, Dr Caldera, that I do not want to be radical about this but I am convinced that this is a decisive step in democracy. Democracy is not perfect in itself; we have to make it perfect.

Jorge Olavarria: I see you are obsessed, Dr Caldera, in the defense of democracy versus dictatorship. I believe that that is not a problem.

Rafael Caldera: I believe that what may be the decisive battle between democracy and dictatorships of the right or left is being fought now in Latin America.

Jorge Olavarria: Who are the advocates of dictatorship in Venezuela?

Rafael Caldera: Some are intentionally; they believe that the political model in Latin America should be the Cuban model and explicitly or implicitly this idea guides many of their actions.

Others are because of impatience or dissatisfaction; they feel understandably inconvenienced because democracy has not provided all the reward

expected. At times this is expressed without measuring the repercussions that certain words or certain positions might have on the public. The day when the people lose their faith in democracy, democracy will be on very precarious ground. I believe that democratic governments are exposed to all criticism, no matter how serious or harsh, because that is the vital sap for democracy. What always concerns me and what I really do not find in the countries that have already passed through all the forms of government and reached Churchill's conclusion that democracy is the worst of systems but it is the only system is that the democratic system is responsible for its failures. All the criticisms that are made to the governments, to the government itself or of a party, do not need to be defended, explained or discussed. All that....

Jorge Olavarria: Allow me one criticism, Dr Rafael Caldera....

Rafael Caldera: Waves of criticism! As I said last month, I have been constantly hit since I threw my hat in the ring. (Laughter)

Jorge Olavarria: Well, the country is asking for a leader for a flag. The flag is here. However, as an effect of the strategy of those in the dishonest democracy--saying that there is a "conspiracy"--no one dares take that flag for fear that he will be called a "conspirator." Take the flag. Do not be afraid. It is necessary that someone take the flag saying, let us go fight for honest democracy! That was what Alvarez Paz said at the end of his speech which seemed to me to be a masterpiece of ability, political wisdom and constructive and practical spirit. That was what he said. He told the AD: "Without you, it is difficult, almost impossible, but with you no one can stop us." Well, without you, Rafael Caldera and Romulo Betancourt, it is difficult and almost impossible to punish the corrupt, but with you no one can stop you. Take the flag!

Rafael Caldera: I have not evaded nor do I evade my responsibility. Now, I know that I have a responsibility. I must prevent that, in a concrete case and a certain situation, the interpretation that some mass media encourage spreads--impudence.

Jorge Olavarria: Let us go back. You cannot act based on what others say because what others say is not always based on honesty in the evaluation.

Rafael Caldera: Based on what the people understand. I do not want the people to think that, in this case, there is impudence. I repeat what I said; it is not a personal quarrel between Carlos Andres Perez and Rafael Caldera. It is an investigation and punishment of corruption that, in my mind, is a small part of what the people think has been committed but, for a thousand reasons, there is no overwhelming evidence as there is in the present case.

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